National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXVII. NO. 42. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1867. WHOLE NO. 1,394.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, No. 39 Nassau Street, New York.

THREE DOLLARS PER ANNUM.

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REGENERATION BEFORE RECONSTRUCTION.

SPEECH OF HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN,

OF INDIANA, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES JANUARY 28, 1867.

THE House having under consideration House bill No. 543, to restore to the States lately in rebellion their political rights, and the Amendment thereto proposed by Mr. Stevens, Mr. JULIAN said:

MR. SPEAKER: In view of the time already consumed in the discussion of the measure now before us, and the general desire of members to reach an early vote on the pending motion to commit, I shall endeavor to address the House as briefly as possible; and I therefore prefer, on this occasion, to submit my views without interruption. I cannot support the Amendment proposed by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Stevens) in its present form; but I shall not vote to send it to the Committee on Reconstruction at this late hour in the session. I believe the time has come for action, and that having this great subject now before us we should proceed earnestly, and with as little delay as may be, to mature some measure which may meet the demand of the people. Nearly two years have elapsed since the close of the war, during the whole of which time the regions blasted by treason have been subject to the authority of Congress; and yet these regions are still unprovided with any valid civil governments, and no loyal man within their limits, black or white, is safe in his person or estate. The Civil Rights act and the Freedmen's Bureau bill are set at open defiance, while freedom of speech and of the press are unknown. The loyal people of these districts, with sorely-tried patience and hopes long deferred, plead with us for our speedy interposition in their behalf; and even the conquered rebels themselves, who are supreme in this general reign of terror, seem to be growing weary of their term of lawlessness and misrule. Sir, let us tolerate no further procrastination; and while we justly hold the President responsible for the trouble and mal-administration which now curse the South and disturb the peace of the country, let us remember that the national odium already perpetually linked with the name of Andrew Johnson will be shared by us, if we fail in the great duty which is now brought to our doors.

Mr. Speaker, my first objection to the Amendment proposed is that it practically confounds the distinction between treason and loyalty by allowing the elective franchise to the great body of the criminals who strove, through four bloody years, to destroy the nation's life. No such policy can have my sanction. The sixth section of the Amendment, which seeks to guard against this by the affidavit which it requires, would prove a delusion and a snare. I will read the form of the oath which it prescribes:

"I, A B, do solemnly swear, on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, that on the 4th day of March, 1864, and at all times thereafter, I would willingly have complied with the requirements of the proclamation of the President of the United States, issued on the 8th day of December, 1863, had a safe opportunity of so doing been allowed me; that on the said 4th of March, 1864, and at all times thereafter, I was opposed to the continuance of the rebellion and to the establishment of the so-called confederate government, and voluntarily gave no aid or encouragement thereto, but earnestly desired the success of the Union, and the suppression of all armed resistance to the government of the United States: and that I will henceforth faithfully support the Constitution of the United States and the Union of the States thereunder."

Sir, of what value would be such an oath? In exacting it, instead of protecting the rights of loyal men we should build a safe bridge over which every rebel in the South could pass back into power. How could perjury be assigned upon such an affidavit? By what process could the prosecutor prove, on the trial, the hidden purpose or the secret intention of the party? I have little faith in the oaths of rebels under any circumstances. If our experience in the late war establishes any general rule in such cases, it is that the oath of a traitor proves nothing but the perjury of the villain who takes it. Most assuredly we could not rely upon it where the man who swears runs no risk of being brought to account; and the exaction of such an oath of men who have ruthlessly lifted their hands against their country is scarcely less than a mockery.

But if it be granted that this oath would be honestly taken, it does not follow that we should now restore the franchise on any such cheap and easy conditions. Are we willing thus to degrade and belittle this great right, the highest expression of citizenship, and its truest safeguard? Must we make haste to share the governing power of the country with the rebel hordes who fought us nearly three years, because they grew weary of their enterprise on the 4th day of March, 1864, and desired then to give it up? Is treason against the nation an offense so slight, an affair so trifling, that no real atonement for it shall be demanded? Sir, these are grave questions, and the state of our country to-day demands that Congress shall ponder them. The citizen's duty of allegiance and the nation's obligation of protection are reciprocal. The one is the price of the other, and the compact is alike binding upon both parties. When the rebels broke this compact by attempting the crime of national murder their right of citizenship was forfeited, and the nation has the undoubted right to declare the consequences of that forfeiture by law. It not only has the right, but in my judgment is sacredly bound to exercise it. And why? Because, in the language of Vattel, "Every nation is obliged to perform the duty of self-preservation." The only solid foundation of national security is the allegiance of the citizen; and the most solemn duty which is at this moment devolved upon the Congress of the United States is the duty of keeping the government of the country in the hands of loyal men. No government can be secure, and no government deserves to live, which allows its enemies a common and equal voice with its friends in the exercise of its powers. This nation has hitherto recognized this principle. In the very first years of the Republic Congress sanctioned the perpetual disfranchisement of the leader and principal officers of Shay's rebellion; and the acts of Congress which warrant the exercise of this power of disfranchisement stand in full force and unchallenged on your statute-books. Congress, during the rebellion, deprived of all rights of citizenship those who deserted from the military or naval service, or who, after being "duly enrolled," left the United States or their military districts to avoid a draft. Certainly these offenses are no greater than the crime of treason, persisted in for successive years. The authority of Congress in all such cases rests upon the universal law of nations. It grows out of the contract of allegiance and the duty of every nation to preserve its own life; and therefore no trial and conviction by any judicial tribunal are necessary as a condition of the declared forfeiture. The forfeiture is not declared as a punishment for the violation of any criminal law, but as a safeguard against national danger. It is an expression of the same policy which excludes aliens from the rights of citizens. The power is not unconstitutional, for our fathers, in framing the Constitution, recognized the law of nations, as they were compelled to do, in launching the Republic among the independent Powers of the world. Nor is it at all affected by the question whether the districts lately in revolt are States in the Union or territorial provinces. In both States and Territories the national authority must be held paramount as to the rights of citizenship, which has uniformly been regarded as a national question. If the second section of the first article of the Constitution gives to the States the power to say who shall vote, this must necessarily be understood to apply only to those who are citizens of the United States, since otherwise the national authority might be overthrown by aliens in our midst in combination with citizens. The late war for the Union has been carried on at an immense cost for the purpose of demonstrating to all the world that we are a *nation*; and every nation, according to the high authority already quoted, "has a right to everything that can ward off imminent danger, and keep at a distance whatever is capable of causing its ruin; and from that very same reason that establishes its right it has also the right to the things necessary to its preservation."

Mr. Speaker, with what face can we denounce the President for his wholesale pardons, and charge him with making treason honorable and loyalty odious, if we ourselves voluntarily clothe with the honor and dignity of the ballot the men who have forfeited all their rights by their crimes against their country? With what consistency can we declaim against the monstrous blood-guiltiness of treason while we extend to the traitor the right hand of political fellowship? Sir, not a single rebel has yet expiated his crime on the gallows. Not one has even been tried. Neither confiscation nor exile has been the portion of the armed assassins and outlaws who summoned to their untimely graves more than three hundred thousand heroes of the Republic, and made the civilized world stand aghast at the recital of their crimes. I do not say we should disfranchise the rebels because the President has allowed them to go unpunished, but that loyal men alone can be trusted to govern the country they have saved, and that the false clemency of the Executive is the exact reverse of a good reason for restoring traitors to power. Nor do I argue that perpetual disfranchisement will certainly be necessary, but that the nation, for its own safety, should withhold the ballot from its enemies till they have proved themselves fit to cast it. No such proof can be adduced. On the contrary, the spirit of treason is now quite as reeking and defiant in the revolted districts as any time during the war. In the sunshine of the President it has sprouted up into new and more vigorous forms of life, while repentant rebels are unknown, save in the sense of regretting the failure of their treason. Sir, I hope the XXXIXth Congress will not sully its good name by confounding the friends of the country with its enemies in the reconstruction and government of the districts blighted by treason, and thus trample down the great principle that allegiance to the nation is the condition of citizenship and the bulwark of our freedom. To do this would be to surrender our strongest weapons to the President and his rebel allies. It would be disloyalty to the great cause which would thus again be imperilled, and bring dishonor upon the graves of our martyred legions, who perished in deadly encounter with the traitors whom we now propose to restore to their lost rights.

Mr. Speaker, I further object to the measure before us, that it is a mere enabling act, looking to the early restoration of the rebellious districts to their former places in the Union, instead of a well-considered frame of government, contemplating such restoration at some indefinite future time, and designed to fit them to receive it. They are not ready for reconstruction as independent States on any terms or conditions which Congress might impose; and I believe the time has come for us to say so. We owe this much to their misguided people, whose false and feverish hopes have been kept alive by the course of the Executive and the hesitating policy of Congress. I think I am safe in saying that if these districts were to-day admitted as States, with the precise political and social elements which we know to exist in them, even with their rebel population disfranchised and the ballot placed in the hands of radical Union men only, irrespective of color, the experiment would be ruinous to the best interests of their loyal people and calamitous to the nation. The withdrawal of Federal intervention and the unchecked operation of local supremacy would as fatally hedge up the way of justice and equality as the rebel ascendency which now prevails. Why? Simply because no theory of government, no forms of administration, can be trusted, unless adequately supported by public opinion. The power of the great landed aristocracy in these regions, if unrestrained by power from without, would inevitably assert itself. Its political chemistry, obeying its own laws, would very soon crystalize itself into the same forms of treason and lawlessness which to-day hold their undisturbed empire over the existing loyal element. What these regions need, above all things, is not an easy and quick return to their forfeited rights in the Union, but *government*, the strong arm of power, outstretched from the central authority here in Washington, making it safe for the freedmen of the South, safe for her loyal white men, safe for emigrants from the Old World and from the Northern States to go and dwell there; safe for Northern capital and labor, Northern energy and enterprise, and Northern ideas to set up their habitation in peace, and thus found a Christian civilization and a living democracy amid the ruins of the past. That, sir, is what the country demands and the rebel power needs. To talk about suddenly building up independent States where the material for such structures is fatally wanting is nonsense. States must *grow*, and to that end their growth must be fostered and protected. The political and social regeneration of the country made desolate by treason is the prime necessity of the hour, and is preliminary to any reconstruction of States. Years of careful pupilage under the authority of the nation may be found necessary, and Congress alone must decide when and upon what conditions the tie rudely broken by treason shall be restored. Congress, moreover, is as solemnly bound to deny to disloyal communities admission into our great sisterhood of States as it is to deny the rights of citizenship to those who have forfeited such rights by treason.

I have thus far, Mr. Speaker, addressed myself to considerations which appeal to men of my own political faith. There is a theory of reconstruction held by gentlemen on the other side of the House, according to which the rebels, the moment they laid down their arms and confessed themselves vanquished, were entitled to resume all their rights as citizens, just as if they had not rebelled, and to set in motion the machinery of their State governments, be represented in Congress, and enjoy all and singular the rights and privileges of other citizens of the United States. Sir, I shall not consume much time in noticing this strange theory, which was so happily disposed of by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Shellabarger) on Friday last. I must, however, do its friends the honor of confessing it to be entirely original. I think no such principle can be found in the law of nations. I am quite sure there is no historical precedent for it, and that the precedents are strongly the other way. One of these, and a very notable one, I may refer to, as illustrating the difference between the congressional and presidential theories of reconstruction. I understand that when Satan rebelled against the Almighty he was accommodated with quarters somewhat more tropical and less salubrious than the kingdom he had involuntarily abdicated. To speak plainly, he was plunged into hell; and he "accepted the situation." According to one account of the transaction he said it was—

"Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven;"

and he has not been "reconstructed" to this day. But according to the modern theory to which I refer, the devil, when he was finally overpowered and was willing to acknowledge it, was that moment entitled to be reinstated in his ancient rights in Paradise, exactly as if he had not sinned. That I understand to be the Democratic theory of reconstruction. But Satan, devil as he was, never had the infernal audacity to insinuate so monstrous a pretension; and it was reserved for the followers of Andrew Johnson, nearly six thousand years later, to startle the civilized world by its avowal. Mr. Speaker, let me not be misunderstood here. I do not desire to see the rebels follow in the footsteps of their illustrious predecessor. There may have been times when it seemed to me they deserved a similar treatment. It may even have occurred to me, in some of my profaner moments, that if there is not a pretty respectable orthodox hell on the other side of the grave for the special discipline of the rebel leaders, it would seem to be the grandest oversight that divine Providence could possibly have committed. But in confronting the dangers which now beset our country, I put aside these theological fancies; and what I demand, and all I ask, is, that Congress shall organize a well-appointed political *purgatory*, located in the rebellious districts, and keep the rebels in it until by their penitence and a change of their lives they shall satisfy us that they can again be trusted with power. Let us put them on probation; and should it require ten years, or twenty years, to qualify them for restoration, or secure an outside element strong enough to rule the rebel faction, let the time be extended. The grand interests involved plead with us to "make haste slowly," while voices from the graves of our slaughtered countrymen beseech us to "keep none but loyal men on guard." When the rebels, conscious of the ruin they have wrought, shall wash away their guilt in their tears of genuine contrition, then, and not till then, let us restore them to our embrace.

And now, Mr. Speaker, if any gentleman asks me what plan of government I would institute for the probation and pupilage of these districts, I am ready to answer him. But, before I do that, I desire to say what forms of reconstruction I do not favor. In the first place, I oppose any cunningly-devised scheme like that reported by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Ashley) from the Committee on Territories, with its popular conventions, its committees of safety, its provisional governors, and other machinery designed to meet the ugly fact that we have a bad man in the Presidential chair, whose usurpations it is pretended we must checkmate by these extraordinary measures. If the President has been guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, let him be impeached and hurled from power. I believe he is thus guilty, and therefore I believe our first duty is to call him to account. Instead of gradual approaches and flank movements, we should confront him at once with our accusations and demand his trial. Instead of lopping off the branches, we should strike at the root of our troubles, and no significance or insignificance of the Executive office, as now filled, should stand in the way of our constitutional duty. If the President is not guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, in the sense in which those terms were understood by our forefathers, and according to the precedents they had before them, then the right of impeachment is not even a "scare-crow," as Mr. Jefferson styled it. But if I am mistaken, and the country is doomed yet longer to endure his maladministration, then let us adopt precisely such measures of government for the rebellious districts as would be necessary and proper if we had an honest man in the place of Andrew Johnson, thus affording him the opportunity, should he seek it, to provoke new conflicts with the people by opposing our measures. Should his madness fail to supply us, abundantly, with the grounds for a successful impeachment, the sands of his official life will soon run out, at the worst, while the management of the rebel territory demands a policy which may last for indefinite years. As the friends of the Constitution and the champions of law, we can best perform our duty by adhering to the well-settled forms and usages of our republican institutions.

I oppose, in the second place, any plan of reconstruction which attempts to reconcile opposite and utterly irreconcilable theories. If the rebellious districts are States, known to the Constitution as such, they have the right to be represented on this floor and in the other end of the Capitol. They have all the rights of the other independent States of the Union, and the work of reconstruction is done already. The logic of this theory, if accepted, not only vindicates the policy of the President, but brands the legislation of Congress for nearly sixty years past as a deliberate usurpation. This is the rebel theory, and those who have accepted it with all its consequences are consistent and brave men, who are entitled to the thanks of all the enemies of their country. But if you reject this theory, then you are driven squarely over to the policy of unqualified Radicalism, for there is no middle ground on which to stand. If these districts are not States known to the Constitution, it must follow inevitably that the Constitution knows them only as Territories, for which Congress is bound, by the express words of the Constitution, to "make all needful rules and regulations." Sir, I am opposed to any scheme of compromise between these theories, and to any plan of reconstruction which embodies in it any elements of the rebel theory. The policy of Congress and the President in recognizing those districts as States, while exercising over them powers utterly inconsistent with the rights of States, has brought upon us our worst troubles, and the sooner we abandon it the better it will be for the country. The nation needs a manly and straightforward *policy*, and not the weakness and vacillation which spring from crooked and ambidextrous measures which lend strength to the enemies of the Republic.

Mr. Speaker, the theory which deals with the rebellious districts as under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress rests upon grounds which are logically impregnable. In the first place, their old constitutional governments were overthrown and destroyed by the rebellion. This will not be disputed. Second, their rebel governments, which followed, were destroyed by our arms. This is equally certain. Third, their present governments, extemporized by the President, are military and provisional only, having no validity whatever save that which they borrow from the continued acquiescence of Congress. The President himself can be quoted in support of this position. And fourth, the rebels themselves, having forfeited all their rights by their treason, as I have already shown, have no authority to institute any sort of government within their respective districts, until they are expressly empowered so to do by Congress. If I am right in these positions, these districts are so many geographical divisions of the Republic, whose people are wholly without any valid civil government, and without any constitutional power to frame such government; and being solely under the jurisdiction of Congress, and having none of the powers and attributes of States, they are necessarily Territories of the United States. As such they need government till they are prepared for readmission, and the machinery of territorial governments, older than the Constitution itself, is as familiar to the American people as that of the State governments. Let each of these Territories then have a governor, a chief justice, a marshal, and an attorney. Let each of them have a Delegate in Congress, fitly denied the right to vote, while permitted to speak. Let each have a Legislature for the enactment of local laws, subject to the supervision of Congress. Let Congress declare who shall be qualified to vote in these Territories, adopting the same rule already established in the other Territories of the United States and in the District of Columbia. And when local supremacy shall defy the national authority in any of these Territories, let it be effectually cured by the military power of the United States. Under this educational process, I would have these rebellious districts trained up in the way they should go, whether the time required for such training shall prove long or short; while, in the meantime, every inch of their soil will be subject to the national authority, and freely open to the energy and enterprise of the world. This policy, by nationalizing the South, would render life and property as secure in Louisiana as in Maine. It would tend powerfully to make our whole country homogeneous. It would encourage in these wasted regions "small farms, thrifty tillage, free schools, closely-associated communities, social independence, respect for honest labor, and equality of political rights." All these blessings must follow, if only the nation, having vanquished its enemies, will now resolutely assert its power in the interest of loyal men, over regions in which nothing but power is respected.

To all this, Mr. Speaker, it will be objected that it contravenes the policy of the Constitutional Amendment proposed by Congress at our last session, and therefore cannot in good faith be urged while that amendment is pending. Several replies to this objection are at hand. First, it must be remembered that this amendment was submitted to the several *States*. Congress had no right to propose it to unorganized districts, which had no constitutional governments of any sort, and therefore no power to pass upon the question. Could we, for example, submit this amendment to Colorado or Nebraska, before they have been lawfully declared States? Congress, at the last session, might have waived all formalities and recognized the rebellious districts as States, by receiving their representatives, as was done in the case of Tennessee; but we refused to do this. Congress even declined to pass the bill reported from the Reconstruction Committee, providing that these so-called States should be received on their acceptance of the amendment. It is perfectly certain, therefore, that Congress reserved for its future judgment the very question which is assumed to have been decided by the objection under notice; or that, if Congress did decide, the decision was the other way. The very utmost that can be claimed by the champions of the Constitutional Amendment is that the question is an open one; and, being an open question, Congress may decide it to-day by putting Territorial governments over these regions, leaving the amendment to the disposition of the loyal States, whose representatives in Congress for nearly six years past, have ignored the existence of disloyal States in dealing with the mighty concerns of war and peace, and the amendment of the Constitution itself. I believe the pending amendment will be ratified; but in voting to submit it, I do not think Congress is at all embarassed in its present action. I can say, for myself at least, that I am perfectly untrammelled, either by my votes in this House or by pledges or committals anywhere; while I believe the general understanding at the last session was that the amendment embodied provisions which were demanded as national safeguards, without pretending to supply any final solution of the problem of reconstruction.

But I reply, in the next place, that even if Congress, at the last session, bound itself by an implied agreement to admit these districts as States, on their ratification of the amendment, we are now released from that obligation. With singular unanimity and emphasis they have rejected our proposal, and thereby left us free. Sir, are we bound to wait here five years, or ten years, for them to ponder the question and reverse their decision, after they have already defiantly spurned our offer, allowing the rebel power in the meanwhile to have free course? I do not so understand the bargain, if any bargain has been made. We have the right to plead our release, and the state of the country demands that we shall exercise it. Since our session of last Summer, great changes have been wrought in the general feeling of the people. We see daily the truth of the old adage that "circumstances alter cases." Public opinion has forced Congress to establish manhood suffrage in the District of Columbia, and thereby to say that that principle should prevail in all the States of the Union. Congress has extended it over all the Territories of the United States, constituting an empire large enough to support a population of two hundred million people. Congress has voted for the admission of Colorado and Nebraska on the fundamental condition of their acceptance of the same principle, and thus advertised all whom it may concern that other States yet to be born must comply with the same condition. Most certainly the like requirement will be made of the districts lately in arms against us, whatever may betide the Constitutional Amendment. God forbid that we should impose conditions upon virgin States of the Northwest, which have never rebelled, and whose people to-day are loyal, which we will not exact of the rebels who have drenched their country in blood! Sir, we cannot trifle with a principle so vital, or expose it to any sort of hazard. I voted last year against restoring Tennessee to her place in the Union, because I feared she could not be trusted without a mortgage from her securing the ballot to her colored loyalists. I hope my fears will prove groundless, but I shall never regret my vote. The loyal people of Maryland to-day, black and white, would be safer under Federal bayonets than under their local government; and Congress, where it has the power, must exert it against the enemies of the country and their sympathizers. I shall never vote to restore one of those rebel districts to power as a State, except upon the condition that impartial suffrage, without respect to race, color, or former condition of slavery, shall be the supreme law within her borders. Sir, we can no longer evade the solemn duty which the logic of events has at last made plain to all lovers of justice; and the man who now thrusts constitutional amendments in our way might as well quote the Crittenden resolutions, adopted by this House the day following the first battle of Bull Run, as the governing principle of the XXXIXth Congress.

I add, finally, and as a conclusion from what I have said already, that the second section of the proposed amendment ought never to be made a part of the Constitution of the United States. It would not now be proposed, if the question were pending as a new one, as our action at this session has plainly indicated. I voted for it, along with the other sections of the amendment, simply as a proposal to reduce the political power of the rebels to a common level with that of loyal men; but instead of cutting down representation in these districts to the basis of actual suffrage, I think we are now ready so to extend the franchise as to make it commensurate with actual representation. An amendment of the Constitution securing this result should have been proposed at the last session. When, in our extremity, we called on the black loyalists of the South to help us through the red sea of war into which our wickedness had plunged us, and they responded to our call by sending two hundred thousand soldiers to our rescue, it thenceforward became the nation's duty, from which no escape was morally possible, to secure the rights of citizenship, both civil and political, to the wronged and outraged millions of the African race in our midst. It thenceforward ought to have been counted a shameful proposition, a flagrant affront to common justice and gratitude, for Congress to propose to the rebels, as a constitutional amendment, that if they would agree to the exclusion of these loyal colored men from the basis of representation, we would agree to surrender them to the tender mercies of rebel State governments, which might wholly deprive them of the sacred right of representation. Sir, I hope no such principle will ever defile the Constitution of our fathers. Aside from its cold-blooded ingratitude to our black allies, it is radically vicious. It impliedly concedes to the States of the Union the right to disfranchise male citizens of the United States over twenty-one years old who are innocent of crime, and thus strike at the root of all democracy. If "taxation without representation is tyranny," and governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed," the citizen's right of representation is as natural and inherent as the breath of his nostrils. To deprive him of it, unless he himself forfeits it by his offences against society, is a crime against his manhood, which is the common foundation of the rights of all men. It is an offence against all free government, for the right of one citizen to a voice in its public administration is precisely the same as the right of every other citizen; and no fraction of citizens, however large, can deprive the remainder of their common and equal right. To deny this is to mock the Declaration of Independence and insult the memory of our fathers; and to incorporate the denial into the Constitution of the United States, in words which express or imply it, would strengthen the hands of every rebel in the South, and comfort the enemies of American democracy throughout the world. It would pollute the very fountains of our national life by the unnatural marriage of the Constitution to the foul heresy of State rights, which so recently wrapped the Republic in the flames of war; while it would stand in open conflict with that grand central principle of our great Charter which declares that "the United States shall guaranty to every State in this Union a republican form of government."

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

From the New Orleans Tribune.

WE had the satisfaction, yesterday, to apprise our readers that the House of Representatives of the Louisiana Legislature, now in session, had refused to entertain the Constitutional Amendment. The vote was unanimous, so that we are in no danger that a reconsideration will ever prevail. The XIVth Amendment is disposed of by our class legislators. They join with the other representative assemblies of the South, in refusing the plan of settlement proposed by the American Congress.

As we stated some time ago, they were not likely to separate themselves from their political friends in the other States. Still had they more perspicacity and foresight than rebels and slave-drivers generally have, they could have done a great mischief by accepting the proferred amendment. Louisiana leading the van, most of the other States might have reconsidered their action and a majority of the Southern organizations or so-called organizations might have complied with the requirements of Congress.

This prospect would have cut short the new plans of restoration now devised between the Republican leaders and the Executive. And, therefore, the XIVth Amendment would have been the last word on the Reconstruction question. That Amendment, as our readers are aware, does not include impartial suffrage; and as a consequence the colored man would have been frustrated, for a long time to come, in any participation in the government. It is not certainly during the era of peace, prosperity, public tranquillity and material enterprise that will follow the restoration of the States, that the ruling class in the South would think of extending the electoral franchise to the black and colored men.

So we would have been left to the mercy of an oligarchy. This oligarchy would have consolidated into their hands, for a long period to come, the exclusive power of choosing magistrates, public officers, and repsesentatives, in all the degrees and departments of the local governments. They would have ruled us with as much partiality and injustice as they do now. The great and paramount question of our political rights would have been lost sight of and neglected.

But, thank God, our legislators are not distinguished for statesmanship or foresight. The danger no longer exists. They have now taken the suicidal step. At this late period, the Legislature of Louisiana was the only one that could initiate a new policy in the South, which would have been a fatal blow to us. They did not see the matter in that light, and of course, they are satisfied of the correctness of their views. So were they when they passed the ordinance of secession. So was the rebel Congress when it rejected the plan of the late Gov. Allen for freeing the slaves and arming them. So were Jeff Davis and his Cabinet, when they ordered Gen. Lee to hold on some time longer, after all his resources were exhausted. On these several occasions they thought they did right, and they certainly entertained a very high opinion of their own ability and statesmanship. Still they took the wrong way, as the facts soon demonstrated. Let them take the wrong way once more. We give them credit for that. Our only fear was that they might have become better and wiser men. Thank God, there is no longer any fear of that.

THE PRESIDENT'S IMPEACHMENT.

From Wilkes' Spirit of the Times.

IT is manifest from the late proceedings at Washington on the Military Bill, that the XXXIXth Congress is in the very crisis of its fate, and accordingly as it meets this bill, and acts upon the supplementary process of impeachment, will it rank among its patriotic predecessors. It stands to-day the most illustrious Legislature upon record. It has contributed more largely to true democratic progress, than any public body known to history; and but few days remain to the completion of its final task of mooring the country safe from the undertow of the rebellion.

It is to be hoped that it will perform its duty with the same patriotism and high courage which has signalized all the previous acts of its career; but while we hope this, we are obliged to say we fear that the virtuous tension which has been so long maintained, may, at the eleventh hour, possibly give way, and leave the earlier work of their period to drift upon the rocks and go to pieces. There are some men who cannot endure to be virtuous, or patriotic, or faithful, or indeed, to be any one thing, for a long while at a time; and there is no telling when these kind of persons are going to "give way." Majorities, though ever so earnest, are composed of all descriptions of material; and patriotism, like the other virtues, is tempered with the weaknesses of human nature. It is not singular, therefore, that even in a public-spirited body, we should find varying shades of patriotism; and we don't know that we shall subject ourselves to serious denial, if we say, that the lowest and most purchassable shade of politics is that which is known under the title of "conservatism." Conservatism is neither one thing nor another—unless it be an organization of the quality of selfishness—for it has no established sympathies, and it constantly stands on tip-toe to pass over to the opposition, as soon as its meretricious sensitiveness is in the least bit touched, and a profitable opportunity to change is found. Conservatives are the cold class which used to be so hateful to the progressive democracy of olden time; but now, singular to say, the present democracy patronize and pet them, and depend hopefully upon them, for all their new recruits. It is from this class that Johnson has drawn his most supple parasites during the last two years; and in view of his stubborn force of character, coupled with the fact that there are always a few more of these undeveloped conservative patriots left among the ranks of the majority, we are never quite free from the apprehension of a stampede which might result in a new drift toward the White House. Military bills, or any propositions concerning the enlargement of the standing army, are the most favorable opportunities for this brand of patriots to "change their front;" and it is for that reason the public are regarding with so much earnestness, the debates which are taking place on the pending measure for military jurisdiction in the South.

The position taken by Gen. Banks, on last Saturday, has especially invited comment. On that day, he opened his opposition to the bill by saying, "it had been his first intention to support it;" but he had come to the conclusion, that "Congress had either to run counter to the Executive or to run with him," and, on reflection, "his preference was to run with the Executive." He further said, that "he was not disposed to pursue the fruitless task of opposing legislative acts by two-third votes over the President's veto," adding, that "a government without an executive power was forceless and incapable of good." Of course, all of these sentences are fallacies—for Congress *runs* the Executive whenever it passes a two-third vote, and creates an executive power by forcing executive acquiescence through its orders. But this executive coercion Gen. Banks does not seem to like; so he finally winds up by saying, he thinks it possible "to frame a bill which should embrace the doctrines declared by the President of the United States, and yet include all the conditions which the most extreme men in the house or in the country might desire for the restoration and reorganization of the government." Following Gen. Banks, Mr. Raymond, of the Philadelphia Convention, approved of his propositions, and thought a good understanding with the President, on the subject of reconstruction, might be brought about.

Upon hearing these overtures, several of the weaker journals of the majority, who cannot endure the idea of incessant war, and some of whom, by-the-by, want public pap, throw up their hands, and welcome the prospects of a compromise. In their faint-heartedness, they do not see that this signal of Banks is an insidious parley to a truce which must lead to their inevitable ruin—for to pause in their prosecution of the acts of Johnson, is to be defeated. Compromise! Compromise with what? With an officer whom the Constitution has given them to command! Compromise with an executive who has aspired to deprive them of their attributes, and who they can order, neutralize, or suspend! The strong never compromise, because all compromises are a submission to a portion of wrong; and besides, there can be no such thing as compromise between two absolute and conflicting positions. When either gives way, it is followed by surrender and defeat. The President has attempted to usurp the powers of Congress. He has told the people that Congress is a despotic and unlawful body, and he has combined with the unpacified populations of the South, to resist those of their acts which were imposed upon them and him, by the most solemn sanctions of the Constitution. And for this continuous and still existent crime, the Congress has instituted the preliminaries of impeachment.

It is the strategy of the President and his supporters to arrest this process in the present House; and the skirmishing on the Military bill is intended to develop the conservative strength, and dishearten the Radicals from the prosecution of both measures. The President shrewdly calculates that if he can succeed in preventing his accusation by the present Congress, which he has so insulted and maligned, that his position will be immensely strengthened, and the probabilities of impeachment by the XLth Congress, through lapse of time, if nothing else, will be very much reduced. More than this, he and his advisers see that the failure of the Judiciary Committee of the present House to report on the impeachment question would amount to a surrender, by Congress, of its foremost policy, and must result in such a loss of prestige as to break the majority to pieces. We can tell the gentlemen of the House, therefore, that when they voted to refer the question of impeachment to the Judiciary Committee, they bound themselves to action, and they cannot turn back, or even pause for a moment, without wholesale defeat and ruin. It is a pure trial of strength between them and the President, proyoked by the latter, and the one which retires leaves the other master of the field. With all the power in its hands which it requires, and all the evidence in its possession that it neds, the XXXIXth Congress cannot safely depute the task of impeachment to its successor. If its members prove unequal to the duty, they may rest assured the people will impeach them. So much for the mere party view of the affair. In a national point of view, an early impeachment of the President is of still higher importance. It is manifest to all the country, that the President "sits enthroned in the interests of the rebellion," and it is obvious to every judgment, that if he baffles the justice of the present Congress, he will find no difficulty in ultimately organizing a majority from the North and South, to carry out his purposes. The true question, then, as has been shrewdly stated by a morning paper, is, whether Mr. Johnson shall be impeached or re-elected? And to this, we will add the further proposition: Shall we have impeachment and speedy peaceful reconstruction, or shall we have the triumph of Andrew Johnson and an inevitable renewal of the war? We say renewal of the war—for the Northern people will not continue to endure the murderous license indulged in by the South against their brethren. Let it be borne in mind, that these Northern men, whose friends in the South are being gagged and slain, compose the only element in this country which remains in fighting humor; and let the weak-kneed members of the Congressional majority also reflect, that there are over a million of these men, who having confidingly voted for Andrew Johnson, now heartily believe he deserves to be put to death. Let Congress, therefore, quiet themselves from any apprehension that Johnson's impeachment and removal will cause the least public perturbation. There is only one maxim which they need consult. Its problem lies in a nut-shell. It is simply this: A nation which can bear without disturbance the removal of a generally-beloved Chief-Magistrate by the knife, will endure, without agitation, the expulsion of an unworthy and detested Chief-Magistrate, by the law.

NORTH CAROLINA.

DEPLORABLE CONDITION OF AFFAIRS—THE REBEL SPIRIT RAMPANT—THE DISLOYAL INHABITANTS SECRETLY ARMED—HOSTILE INTENTIONS—UNION MEN PERSECUTED AND THEIR LIVES IN DANGER.

[THE following extract from a private letter, written by a United States officer now serving in North Carolina, is indorsed to us by a prominent and well known physician of this State, to whom it was originally addressed. The writer is also well known in Ohio, having, before the war, occupied a high social and official position. The letter was not written for publication, but the gentleman who received it, in view of the high character and reliability of the writer and the importance of the subject, has taken the responsibility of having it printed.—*Ed. Gazette.*]

NORTH CAROLINA, January 24.

MY DEAREST FRIEND: I took charge of this district, to protect, advise, and sustain the poor, persecuted colored people and true Union men from the violence and injustice of the unrepresented rebels, whom the miserable policy of Andrew Johnson has revived and emboldened throughout all the South. I have, by firmness and energy, and some display of Irish courage, reduced the most prominent rebels to silence, but the peace of all this country, and the lives of all our United States officers and friends hang upon the firmness and sufficiency of Congress. The rebels here, exclusive, of course, of the colored people, are ten to one; they are all armed, and I believe many of them enrolled in secret societies, sworn to extirpate the Union men. Should Johnson's "policy" prevail and these men continue as at present, to hold all the State officers, and many of the Federal also, it will be utterly impossible for Northern, or true Union Southern men to exist in these rebel States. We are under the ban of these murderers, who are already stained with innocent blood, and can only implore the noble people of the North and West not to desert their true and devoted friends, and thus render useless all their former sacrifices, of hundreds of thousands of precious lives and millions of millions of treasure.

The appointments, in this State, are all given as rewards for treason, rebellion and enmity to the Union. Not a single constable could be chosen in Newbern, unless he had been in the rebel service. This was openly proclaimed by many of the voters. Our present Gov. "Worth," is entirely in the hands of the bitterest enemies of the Union. He strongly condemned the too mild measure of the Howard amendment. Our Legislature rejected a very moderate Union man, John Pool, and chose for United States Senator Mr. Manly, one of the most violent rebels in this State. Through such men all recommendations for public office go forward to the government, and of course all Union men are utterly ignored. Our Legislature turned out about nine-tenths of the magistrates who were appointed by Gov. Holden, simply and avowedly because they were Union-loving men, and put into office in every county of this State the most rampant rebels.

Now, you ask, what remedy? I say: *Remove the root* of all this horrible injustice, and re-impose legal authorities in every Southern State, and sustain them by an *armed force, to be paid for by the property holders of the places where their presence is required;* disfranchise every man who has borne arms against the United States government, and also every civilian who has held any office under the rebel authorities; give the power of voting to every colored man, and provide the Freedmen's Bureau with the means of securing the right of all negroes to vote. Then, by degrees, and at some distant time, if these rebels repent, and show fruits meet for the same, bring these States back through the form of Territories. This is my programme, and to this we *must come*, or another and much worse civil war will ensue, after the lives of numbers of true-hearted Union men will have been sacrificed by murderers. Be sure, if the noble and devoted men who now advocate our cause in Congress shrink or quail before a hostile Executive, we shall suffer the loss of all things, and most probably be murdered, with our families. I have made up my mind to continue in the South, and maintain with courage and devotion my position as a United States officer; but I know the danger, and have, I trust, counted the cost. There are here enough idle rebel soldiers, who carry concealed arms, and who would delight in shooting an officer of the Bureau and a friend of the hated Yankee government. Let Congress shrink from protecting us, and of course we must perish. Let the Freedmen's Bureau be discouraged, and military aid withheld, and the massacres of Memphis and New Orleans will be renewed in every county of these rebel States. This is my firm conviction.

I want these calm and undoubted truths conveyed to Congress, and you may so inform your noble-minded and true-hearted friend, Gen. R. C. Schenck, who will never flinch from his post of duty, however irksome or dangerous.

THE OBSTRUCTIVE PRESIDENT.

From the London Spectator.

THE President of the United States appears to be a man of small intellect and strong passions. At present he is acting like young chess-players playing a losing game, who cannot deny themselves the small temporary gratification of uselessly checking their opponent, even though to do so they throw away the little chance that is left them of retrieving their battle. Nothing could be at once more cynical and more silly than the policy Mr. Johnson has lately been pursuing in his unequal struggle with Congress—cynical, because it inflicts the most terrible sufferings in individual cases without, advancing, nay, at the expense of that cause of color-caste in the South which Mr. Johnson has espoused; silly, because in several instances Mr. Johnson has thwarted his opponents simply for

the pleasure of thwarting them, without even the power of overruling them, and without the pretence of the legal pleas on which he has generally professed to act. If the committee to inquire whether he has done anything worthy of impeachment—which the Atlantic Telegraph tells us was carried in the House of Representatives by the large majority of 108 to 38—should really propose to impeach him, and should meet with any success, the success will be entirely due to the senseless obstinacy of his recent acts, which assuredly render him an obstacle in the path of the new policy which it is desirable to shovel out of the way, if it can be done without any serious disruption of the party of freedom. Our own view has been, till within the last week, unfavorable to so strong a measure as the impeachment of the President, and would be so still, if any milder remedy for preventing the complete waste of two most important years of political action could be discovered. Mr. Johnson is clearly not responsible in any way for his own narrow intellect, or probably not now responsible for his own strong passions. It is not in order to punish him for being what he is, that any true friend of freedom would wish to see the ordinary course of events in the United States interrupted. But if the future is to be permanently imperilled because these two men of mean intellect and poor character—Mr. Johnson and Mr. Seward—stand in the way, then it becomes the duty of those who know what the war really meant, and how great is the danger of letting society in the South crystallize again on the old law, the law of slavery, instead of the new, to sweep away these obstinate misinterpreters of the distinct will of a great nation. Hitherto, however, we do not doubt that Mr. Johnson's narrow passions have done good and not harm. As Louis Napoleon is said to have apologized in 1859 for leaving Venetia in the hands of Austria, on the ground that Italy would be consolidated far sooner with two great external irritants, Rome and Venice, still to chafe the Italian nation into active patriotism and absolute unity of feeling, so Mr. Johnson, if he had the astuteness of the French Emperor, might some day plead before the bar of the American nation, that his bitterness against the cause of freedom was essential in the hour of victory to alarm the too lenient spirit of the North, to secure the coherence of the Free Soil party and its adherence to its resolve that the South should never be trusted again till it had frankly obliterated the principal of social tyranny on which the rebellion took its stand. Mr. Johnson has hitherto prevented, and perhaps only a President of such bitter prejudices could have prevented, the North from unguardedly, in the generosity of its heart, making fatal concessions to the South. But now that he has succeeded in making them wake as one man to their danger, the next thing should be to save two most important years in dealing with it, and Mr. Johnson seems determined to show the North that this cannot be done without brushing aside the unfortunate political accident who professes to administer their will.

The case against Mr. Johnson is this. Congress has passed—and passed as the net moral result of the war, without the complete and sincere acceptance of which the war would be over only in name—and the requisite majority of the States of the Union have ratified the Constitutional Amendment finally abolishing slavery, except as a criminal punishment, and giving Congress power to enforce this new provision of the Constitution by appropriate legislation. So far the President and the late rebellious States profess to go with Congress. But this change was only nominal so long as the States lately in rebellion continued to hold to all their old legal and social customs constructed on the *ideas* of the system they professed to surrender; so long as whites who shoot negroes are acquitted of all guilt, and negroes who lift a finger against whites are shot dead; so long as white men may travel where they please, and negro travellers are called vagrants and condemned to slavery for terms of years; so long as white evidence hangs any number of negroes, and negro evidence is not even accepted against a white; so long as negroes are taxed for the schools which white children alone may attend, and white men burn down the schools for negroes with absolute impunity; so long as deliberate massacres of the negroes go absolutely unpunished; so long as Southern courts laugh at the Constitutional Amendment, and declare it unconstitutional. Let slavery be declared abolished, and yet all these things of which we have spoken go on without interference on the part of Congress or the Executive, and it is clear that the results of the war are cast to the winds. Yet this is precisely what Mr. Johnson has moved heaven and earth to effect. Congress passed a Freedmen's Bureau bill last session to protect the negroes in the South. Mr. Johnson vetoed it. Congress passed a Civil Rights bill, declaring all native negroes citizens of the United States, and entitled to all the civil rights of whites born under the same circumstances. Mr. Johnson vetoed it. During the long vacation a most bloody and malignant plot was laid by the citizens of New Orleans against the Free Soil party of that State, and a massacre organized which in part took effect, which actually cost the lives of more than a score of loyalists, and but for the United States troops would have been a second St. Bartholomew. Mr. Johnson did his best at the time, and has done his best ever since, to palliate the guilt of that deliberate massacre, and to throw the blame upon the victims. All this has long been known. But now Mr. Johnson is playing more and more boldly the same disgraceful part. This session Congress, which is the only Legislature of the District of Columbia, in which Washington lies, has passed by two-third majorities in both Houses a bill giving the suffrage to negroes in that District. Mr. Johnson has vetoed it, although his power only extends to delaying it for a day or two, when the same majorities given after his veto will pass it into law. Still worse, the only power by which the evil passion of the South against its freedmen was mitigated was the military power. Till lately it was known that if negroes were murdered and the State Courts refused to take cognizance of the crimes, or acquitted the criminals, the military authorities would interfere. In Georgia, in the last year, there have been three hundred such murders of which only three, or one per cent. were punished, and these under the influence of fear of the military authorities, who would have had far more influence but for the known bias of the President against the negroes. Mr. Johnson has just withdrawn this one feeble offset against the malignant negro-hatred of the South. The Supreme Court has decided that in Indiana—a State where there never was any rebellion—the military tribunals had no authority except over soldiers, and has set aside a sentence on a civilian passed by a military court. Mr. Johnson, with indecent haste, has used this decision to further his purpose of giving each of the Southern States full freedom to slay or torture its own negroes, without interference from the Central government. He has revoked as unconstitutional the military order directing the Federal officers to interfere in case of any flagrant repudiation by the Southern courts of the plain civil rights of the negroes, and has himself dissolved the commission sitting to try a self-confessed murderer at Richmond, Dr. James L. Watson, who had been acquitted by the local court, in spite of his own boastful confession of the murder, simply and solely on the ground that negro murder is not murder.

In this case a negro coachman called Echols had driven his mistress's carriage against Dr. Watson's. Dr. Watson, the next day, proceeded to cowhide Echols, and on Echols running away called him back, under pain of death, to undergo more cowhiding, and shot him for not returning. Of this the murderer Watson boasted, and the County Court acquitted him as guiltless of murder. The Military Commission which was sitting to try him is dissolved by Mr. Johnson, on the ground that the Supreme Court had declared trials by military commission in the Northern States—where there never was any rebellion or need of military authority—unconstitutional. And Dr. Watson may murder a fresh negro each day of the new year with absolute certainty of impunity, if not of fame. In Maryland the judges, aware that Mr. Johnson vetoed the Civil Rights bill, which was passed over his veto, and will do nothing to enforce it, are setting it at naught in the most flagrant manner, and on Saturday 22d December, four negroes were *sold* for a term of years at Annapolis for some slight offence—we believe under the vagrant laws—one of them being actually permitted *to buy himself in*, which he certainly would not have been if the offence had been more than nominal. The other three were sold to farmers for a term of years, Judge Magruder declaring the Civil Rights bill passed by Congress, which refuses to admit any distinction in the civil laws founded on color, as unconstitutional and inconsistent with the law of Maryland. All over the South the same absolute contempt for the civil rights of the negro is shown, under the fostering care of Mr. Johnson's justice. North Carolina papers declare that State ready for a new rebellion on the basis of Mr. Johnson's principles. South Carolina rejects the new Constitutional Amendment, which incorporates the Civil Rights bill, by 95 to 1. In Memphis, Tennessee, organizations to prevent by terror commercial dealings with loyal shopkeepers are formed. In Missouri the burning down of freedmen's schools is a popular amusement. And everywhere the President's cry is to "let be," unless the very people who conspire to do these things interfere by their own courts or militia to prevent them.

These are not iniquities merely requiring a strong-handed remedy, but incidents of the whole policy of the war. If this be constitutional—as our "Yankee" correspondent, in his blind ardor for legalities, boasts—it was far more constitutional to permit secession at first, than for the nation now, after paying hundreds of millions sterling to prevent secession, to foster all the springs of secession into a new and still more threatening activity. Whatever price must be paid to reap the full fruits of the greatest and most successful of human struggles, clearly must be paid. And if so insignificant a President as Mr. Johnson must be thrown overboard to prevent the wreck of the ship in the very sight of port, why no one will regret *him*, though many may regret the necessity of having to do anything that looks revolutionary for the sake of clearing away so trivial an impediment, which, by an unfortunate accident of position, is yet a formidable drag on the movement of a great nation.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1867.

Wendell Phillips's

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CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION.

THE XXXIXth Congress has passed the limit of its opportunity, and has taken no step forward in Reconstruction. Thanks to STEVENS and BOUTWELL and their radical associates in the House, unwittingly assisted by the "Democratic" opposition, the nation has been once more saved from what would have been a practical surrender to rebellion.

In the Senate, since our last issue, a substitute for the Military bill, passed by the House, and the Eliot Louisiana bill, was offered by Mr. Sherman. This substitute had its origin with men who want to shirk the responsibility of impeachment, and who hoped by it to patch up a compromise with the Executive. Like the Constitutional Amendment which it supplements, it is in itself a makeshift and a "swindle," and would give to the suffering loyalists of the South both white and black, a stone when they ask for and so much need bread. If adopted it would leave Andrew Johnson, as hitherto, master of the situation, and imperilling the negro and the loyal whites, make the way to perpetual rebel supremacy in the South easy and well nigh certain. If not past surprise at anything men in political life may in the stress of an emergency do, we should wonder that the measure did not meet a more vigorous opposition in the Senate from Messrs. Sumner, Brown and a few from whom an earnest protest at least might reasonably have been expected. Mr. Sumner, we believe, failed to record his vote in the negative, while Mr. Brown strangely enough voted for the Sherman substitute. Of Wilson nothing better could be expected. It will take more than the virtue of a Natick revival to give him the grace for a manly fight for a principle where there is, as in this instance, strong temptation to compromise.

The business of reconstruction and the responsibility of impeachment will now go over to the XLth Congress. We count it, on the whole, a great gain to have nothing rather than worse than nothing. As things are, delay is a great aid. It secures the opportunity for a healthful reaction in opinion. The well-intended but mischievous notions of charity and generosity advocated by the Greeley's and Beecher's, and so readily accepted as a legitimate excuse for unwarrantable concessions by conscienceless legislators, if not thwarted by other uncontrollable tendencies, would have cheated the nation of the just fruits of victory, and entailed even greater suffering than the present upon all classes in the South.

Shrinking from the crisis of the inevitable conflict with the treacherous Executive, our political leaders have all along sought to postpone it by a gratuitous surrender in their attempts at reconstruction of the acknowledged rights of victors. The most the principals and active supporters of the rebellion could reasonably ask for was, that their necks be saved from the halter. Property they should be made to contribute, for their own good, as for the general welfare of the nation, to repair as far as possible the injury occasioned by their murderous treason. The hundreds of thousands of precious lives destroyed, it is of course beyond their power to restore. But to confiscation, and to subordination in the political councils of the future, the nation may and should demand their unqualified assent. To assist in again clothing them with power and the opportunity for misohief, without ample repentance and reformation, is to trifle with the negro and the loyal whites, is cruelty and not kindness to the rebels themselves, and gratuitously to discourage national growth and prosperity.

The old Union we do not want restored. It was an infamous bargain between aristocracy and a pretended democracy, for the destruction of which we are profoundly grateful. We do not want, and do not mean to accept any reconstruction which does not secure political equality for all loyal people, with ample guarantees, and due subordination of pro-slavery traitors. We admonish the XLth Congress, as we did its predecessor, that its very first business in order should be the impeachment and deposition of Andrew Johnson. It should not stultify itself by consenting to receive a message from him. Until he is impeached, it will be found impossible by the XLth, as it has been by the XXXIXth Congress, to mature anything of permanent value in reconstruction, which either with or without the veto power, he will not nullify. Impeachment is the nearest duty. It is indispensible as a final conquering blow to rebellion, and as a preliminary to any plan of equitable reconstruction.

HENRY WARD BEECHER gave the opening lecture of the Brooklyn Fraternity course on Wednesday evening of last week. His theme was Universal Suffrage. A considerable portion of his lecture was devoted to a re-statement of his arguments for the enfranchisement of woman. He made no special application of his views to present public affairs, either State or National. The problems uppermost in the public mind he made no allusion to, greatly, as we think, to his own discredit. No man in his position has a right to be without opinions, or to withhold them from the public in a time like the present. His lecture was unsatisfactory rather on account of what it omitted than what it contained.

THE STATE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

THE honorable gentlemen of the Legislature at Albany have proposed to themselves a ten days' recess, without having settled anything in relation to the Constitutional Convention. There had already been most unwarrantable delay, in view of its importance, in approaching the subject. We hear it intimated that leading men of the dominant party of the Legislature, fearing the party consequences of a convention at this time, are adverse to holding one. It is not an impossible event, therefore, that, by pre-arranged disagreement upon the preliminary measures, the Convention may not after all be held. The electors gave for it a large majority vote at the November election, and the Constitution requires that a Convention be held, and duly provided for by the Legislature. But, in the present transition period of national affairs, our timid politicians fear to risk themselves upon the open sea of a general debate as to the fundamental principles of government, which the holding of the Convention would involve. The *Tribune*, foolishly enough for it, but very characteristic of Mr. Greeley, opposes the extension of the ballot to the proscribed colored men, as proposed by the Senate Committee, because it would provoke the opposition of negro-haters. The Albany *Evening Journal*, over which the spirit of Thurlow Weed seems still to hover as a sort of nightmare, opposes the proposed unqualified negro voting, because, if that be sanctioned, no good answer can be made to the demand now being made for woman also to have a vote in electing delegates to the Convention. Pressed by the Democrats, deserted by the *Tribune* and the *Journal*, uncertain as to whether Johnson and treason will continue to rule at Washington or Radicalism come uppermost in the XLth Congress, the Radicals of the Legislature are in a dilemma.

The holding of a Convention for the revision of the Constitution is equivalent to starting anew with the State government. The people—all the people, white and black, men and women—have a common interest in it, and all should have a voice in the creation of, and representation in, the Convention.

The opportunity of course brings with it a corresponding responsibility, as all opportunity does. It is from a consciousness of this responsibility, peculiar in the present condition of the nation, that faithless, timid and calculating politicians falter and hesitate. But the responsibility does not rest alone upon the members of the Legislature and leading public men. It belongs to every man and woman in the State. The unrepresented classes especially, should forthwith and earnestly assert their claims to full and equal recognition. The press, the pulpit, public meetings, and numerously-signed petitions, should, with one common, irresistible voice, promptly re-assure the Legislature, demand that a Convention be held at all events, and that its platform be broad and comprehensive, ignoring the present unjust proscription on account of color and sex, both for electors and delegates to be chosen. This is the hour for the effort. Let it be made at once, and vigorously.

DEVELOPMENTS OF CHURCH CHARACTER, SOUTH AND NORTH.

THE defenders of slavery have always claimed for the South an eminently religious character. According to them, it held to the old ways, walked in the old paths, refused even a hearing to Yankee notions and Northern "isms" (even Congregationalism), and was therefore assumed to be, as a matter of course, theologically and religiously right. Its people were either Episcopalians, or Presbyterians, or Methodists, or Baptists, except in the few places where the Roman Catholic faith had gained a foothold; and whatever religion there was there ran in one or another of these established ruts. Every man's hand was against him who would introduce any ideas different from these on the subject of religion; to do this would at once bring upon the unlucky proselyter the charge of being "an infidel"; and an infidel, everybody agreed, was as bad as an Abolitionist.

There was a reason for this unanimity of opposition to all new light upon religious matters. People were allowed to have their choice among these five denominations, because slavery had transformed each of them into its own image, and the most brutal and abominable oppression might be practiced by the member of either of these churches without injuring his "good standing," or subjecting him to "discipline" or even to question, from the church authorities. The support of slavery, and of all the customs, details and incidents belonging to slavery, was a matter of course. The rights of the master, and the understanding that *no* rights belonged to the slave, or to the slave's wife or daughter, were matters of course, just as much among church-members as among horse-jockeys or bar-keepers. The pulpit and the pews were quite agreed about this matter; so well agreed that there was no need of saying anything about it.

But when events brought about the overthrow of slavery in the South—when the great bulk of it was abolished by law, and its complete removal was obviously only a question of time—when great numbers of planters and traders and other "worldly" people felt free to admit that slavery had always been a curse to the South, and that they were glad of its removal—when these things came about, I say, it was assumed at the North, as a matter of course, that the "pious" people of the South, and particularly its clergy, would be most forward of all to welcome this change, rejoice in it, adapt themselves to it, make the best of it, and triumph in the Providential dispensation which had taken away the fruitful mother of the worst vices which prevailed in their community. If worldly people did so much in that direction, surely "Christians" would do more; and it is really taken for granted through most of this country that Southern members of Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist and Methodist churches *are* Christians, in spite of the fact that they have been the most pertinacious of the defenders of slavery!

Well, when the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church held its Annual Meeting at Memphis about two months ago, their Presbyterian brethren in the North looked for some expression of their readiness not only to adapt themselves to the new state of things, but to rejoice in it. It was not unreasonable to expect that "Christians" would make up their minds to accept their negro brother in the church as an actual and equal brother, at least as soon as the unregenerate slaveholder accepted him as an equal fellow-citizen. It was not unreasonable to expect, considering the frightful depravity of manners and morals directly produced by slavery, that men who made any pretence of being Christians should show themselves ready at least to take advantage of its abolition, and try to amend the evils it had produced.

Reasonable or not, this expectation was disappointed. At the Memphis meeting (as was shown in THE STANDARD of Dec. 29th), it was seriously decided that, although in a certain sense the white church-member was "one with" the colored church-member, they were one *only* "in Christ Jesus," and not at all to the extent of having equal rights in the church!

Here is what was said by Rev. Dr. Baird of Virginia, in regard to the status of black church-members and black ministers:

"There is a fundamental difficulty in the way of giving the colored man equality in our ecclesiastical courts. Before he can be admitted to equality, he must be acceptable to the Church; not to a nook and corner, not to a mere handful of people, but to the Church. There is this difficulty arising from the structure of society, as God has organized it, to prevent a race so different from our own from being admitted to ecclesiastical equality. But we must license ministers among them—not ordain them, but license them, if they are able to exercise their rights to edification. Under the right of exhortation, common to all Christians, you may license colored people to preach to colored people. But he would not put the right of jurisdiction in their hands, because of this insuperable obstacle in their way, they could not be acceptable to the whole church."

Will it be said, we must not judge the whole body by the speech of one man? True, but the general current of remark in the General Assembly ran in the same direction, and a very large majority, at the close of the discussion, voted that negroes should *not* be ordained as ministers.

Lastly, it may be asked, though the discussions which came to this result extended through one or two days, was it not, after all, hasty action; action of which the members were afterwards ashamed? We have some evidence to present on this point also.

The *Presbyterian Index*—published at Mobile and New Orleans, and edited by Rev. Dr. John H. Rice, a prominent member of the General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church, lately in session at Memphis—vindicates the action of that Assembly in refusing ordination to colored men as follows:

"We do not hesitate to affirm that the views and opinions of Southern Christians on the subject of slavery have neither been revolutionized nor even modified by the events of the past six years."

And again—

"We honestly believe that the true policy of the Church, having in view the true devotion as well as the salvation of the colored race, is, so far as their ecclesiastical relations are concerned, to keep them as nearly in their former position towards us as their changed social condition will admit. *Therefore, instead of repelling the charge made against our General Assembly of trying to hold the colored man in the Church just as he was before his emancipation, we confess it, and glory in it.*"

The New York *Observer*, opposing the course of policy here described, says in regard to the continued existence of pro-slavery feeling at the South—"We honestly believe that the *Presbyterian Index* speaks the real sentiments of the Memphis Assembly."

And yet, thinking thus, the *Observer* continues to call these people "Christians!" To assume that, as a matter of course, the members of Presbyterian churches *must* be Christians, though their daily life agrees with their avowed principles in violating alike the letter and spirit of the life enjoined by Jesus Christ!

Could there be more decisive proof of what the Abolitionists have always said, that slavery has corrupted the *religion* of this country? It is not merely that churches composed wholly or partly of slaveholders are, in so far, corrupt; it is not merely that the Southern churches *were* corrupt, before slavery was forcibly taken away from them. The evil spreads far wider, penetrates far deeper. The pernicious fruit remains, poisoning the very air around it, after the tree has been cut down. The Northern churches have received this contagion as fully as the Southern. The Northern churches, having, for half a century past, persisted in taking to their arms as brethren men whose daily work was in moral pitch, mud and filth, men whose common life was tainted with the foulest corruption, have experienced the natural effect of such contact, and have themselves become defiled. But this is not the worst. Their nature, like the dyer's arms, has become "subdued to what it works in." Their natural taste, their moral sense, their power of spiritual perception have become so depraved by long voluntary complicity with sin, that they have lost not only the love of purity but the power of distinguishing uncleanness when they see it.

The turning of the North against slavery during the late war was a product, not of righteousness in the church, but of common sense in "the world." Plenty of Republicans were church-members, but the Republican party took ground against slavery before the churches did, and the influence which first turned the mass of the people in that direction, and brought Lincoln slowly up to the point of proclaiming Emancipation, came not from the clergy, not from the churches, but from the working of common sense and patriotism in the minds of leading men who had never made any pretensions to "piety." The church, in this matter, followed on after "the world," just as the "Christian Commission" (so-called) cut in upon the Sanitary Commission, stealing its benevolent idea, turning it to the aid of sectarian propagandism, and drawing off a large portion of the funds which had maintained its work of *unqualified* usefulness. And now, when men of the world have come to see clearly that slavery was a sin, an atrocious wickedness, as well as a social, political and economical evil, the Northern church persists in regarding it as an evil only, and *not as a sin!* The people who delight in slavery, vindicate it, try make the abolition of it merely nominal, and avow their determination to hold on to as much of it as they can, are still, in their judgment, "Christians." If they hold to the existence of God in one person only, and not in three, they would *not* be Christians; but as they *only* tyrannize over their weak brother, *only* take away the key of knowledge, *only* maintained *caste* in the church for the purpose of being able to maintain it longer in the world, *only* omit justice and mercy while following the prescribed order of prayers and sacraments—they are still Christians!

The religion in which the majority of the people of this country have been educated, the religion which they still hold and in which they firmly believe—whatever merits and excellencies it includes, includes also this taint and vice, namely: it has so formed the habit of judging of character by profession mainly, and little or not at all by practice, it has so accustomed itself to a silent allowance of immoral conduct in those who held to its creed and practised its devotional observances, that it has come really to estimate the tree by its printed label rather than its fruit; to think that a man's character is better shown by his professions than by his life; and heartily to accept evil character for church-membership, when high profession and strict devotional observance go with it. But is the moral education of our people, and especially the training of our children and youth, to be left in the hands of men so incompetent to the work? Shall we continue to hold that as the true religion which so flagrantly disregards morality, and sets at nought the obvious distinctions between right and wrong?

A very large portion of the corruptions which have attached themselves to our church customs, and which thus have come to be considered as consistent with "Christianity," are the outgrowth of slavery; and, as I have said, they continue to live in the church even while slavery, attacked from another quarter, is coming to an end. Abolitionists have always vindicated true Christianity from the imputation of allowing the vices which the church allows; and it is necessary still to hold up to the public gaze the fact, that neither the group of Southern churches which so long practised slaveholding, nor the like-minded group of Northern churches which supported them in that sin, have any just claim to be regarded as representatives of that system, taught by Jesus of Nazareth, called Christ, which he summed up as consisting of love to God as the common Father, and love to men as equal brothers. C. K. W.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON will deliver the next lecture in the Fraternity course at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, on Tuesday evening of next week. His lecture will embrace to some extent the topic of impeachment, in connection with the general subject of our national affairs. It is just about a year since Mr. Garrison gave a lecture under the same auspices at the Brooklyn Academy, on which occasion he was listened to with much interest. We trust he will be greeted next week by a large audience. His views of the situation will possess special interest to the public at the present time.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON gave the second lecture of the Brooklyn Fraternity course on Tuesday evening last. Her subject was "Reconstruction." Her lecture was able and eloquent, and received with warm and hearty appreciation. She spoke with special reference to the contemplated Convention for the revision of our State Constitution, and made a very earnest and effective plea for the enfranchisement of women and such colored men as are proscribed by the property qualification. There were passages in the lecture of marked eloquence and beauty, surpassing anything we have hitherto heard from her. The *Tribune* reported the lecture at length, and noticed it as follows:

Elizabeth Cady Stanton lectured last evening in Brooklyn on Reconstruction, and we give in other columns a full report of her address. There can be no true reconstruction, in her opinion, without an acknowledgment in the letter of the law of woman's rights. Mrs. Stanton can hardly expect to force public opinion straightway to her standpoint; but we do not know any better argument for those in whose behalf she pleads than the speaker herself, and her wise, womanly, and eloquent speech.

ANNA E. DICKINSON gave her lecture, "Something to Do," at the Cooper Institute in this city, on Tuesday evening last. The lecture, which, much to our regret, we were unable to hear, was, we understand, listened to with the deepest interest, and warmly received by a very large audience. It will interest our readers, accustomed to attend the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to know that Miss Dickinson may be pretty confidently expected to be present as one of the speakers at the next meeting, to be held in Steinway Hall, anniversary week.

MRS. STANTON'S recent address before the Legislative Committees at Albany, a full synopsis of which we gave in the STANDARD, has been issued in a neatly-printed pamphlet, twenty-four pages, by Weed and Parsons, of Albany. It may be had at this office. Price twenty cents per copy. It ought to be widely distributed throughout the State.

Banks, Bingham, Blaine, Raymond, Delano, Dodge, Hubbard, Dawes, and others are implicated in a most disgraceful attempt to try to patch up a compromise with the usurper of the White House, at the expense of justice and the honor and dignity of the nation. The race of political tricksters and flunkeys was not destroyed by the war.

WE take from the *West Branch* (Williamsport, Pa.) *Bulletin* of the 16th inst. the following friendly paragraph in relation to THE STANDARD:

"We notice that some friend of human rights has given a one hundred dollar government bond as a premium for the person who obtains the greatest number of subscribers to the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD during the year 1867. For twenty-four years we have been a reader of that paper. We subscribed for it when Lydia Maria Child was editor. It was then looked upon as the organ of a set of fanatics because it insisted on the principles of the Declaration of Independence being carried out. Its motto has always been, 'Without concealment—without compromise.' Its editors have been able, earnest and true to humanity. After a long battle, they have seen a whole nation bow to the great ideas for which they have contended, emancipation accomplished, and liberty instead of slavery acknowledged by the dominant party in the country. As the rights of the emancipated race are not yet acknowledged, THE STANDARD still lives to guard the interests of those it has done so much to liberate. It is one of the best papers in the country, and deserves to be well sustained."

THE *Spiritual Republic* is the title of a new journal issued in Chicago. It is devoted to the advocacy of the doctrines of the spiritual philosophy and to the interests of general reform. It is ably edited by Mr. F. G. Wadsworth. It has several corresponding editors, among whom is Mrs. Mary F. Davis, a forcible, philanthropic writer, who will add much of interest and real value to its pages. Among its contributors are our friends Henry C. Wright and Giles B. Stebbins. The *Republic* embraces in its columns the cause of the still unenfranchised negro, of woman, of temperance, of peace, and of general human progress. It is a large octavo, printed on good paper, with plain new type, at $3 a year.

Published every Saturday, at 84 Dearborn street, Chicago, Ill.

THE New York *Evening Gazette*, the new evening daily, the appearance of which we announced several weeks since, has reached its fiftieth issue, and has been once enlarged. It is creditable in its dimensions and gives external evidence of an enduring vitality. It does not pretend to be a political journal, though it is not, like certain neutral papers, without any opinions, neutral in everything and good for nothing. It has opinions of its own, not in everything as radical as we could wish, but frank and catholic, and it presents a fair synopsis from the dailies and weeklies of the varying opinions of the press. Its literary tone is excellent. For the sphere it claims to fill, that of "a lively, chatty, evening paper;" it is edited with decided ability and success, and merits, as we trust it will achieve, a prosperous career as a metropolitan daily.

EQUAL RIGHTS CONVENTIONS, addressed by Messrs. Pillsbury and Remond, Miss Anthony, Miss Bisbie, Miss Jacobs and Rev. Olympia Brown, were held at Herkimer and Cohoes last week, and at Troy on the 18th and 19th inst. A convention will be held at Newburgh on the 21st and 22d, and at Hudson, N. Y., on Wednesday, the 27th inst.

THE Richmond *Times*, commenting on the Military bill recently passed in the House, says:

"But as the probabilities are in favor of this bill being enacted into a law, despite the President's veto, we must again entreat the Legislature to make the *necessary provision for protecting Virginia against the first attempt of the authorities at Washington to annihilate our State government.*"

PERSONAL.

Gov. Orr made a speech Wednesday night before the Charleston, S. C., Chamber of Commerce, in favor of the Johnson-Sharkey-Dixon Constitutional Amendment.

Solomon Johnson, a colored man, formerly President Lincoln's barber, has been appointed a first class clerk in the Treasury Department at Washington with a desk in the Secretary's office.

P. T. Barnum, Esq. received the nomination for Congress from the Bridgeport (Conn.) District on Thursday last. He has already entered upon the canvass with a fair prospect of election.

Hon. I. Washburn of Worcester has purchased the Bigelow estate on Front st., opposite the Common in that city, containing 22,500 feet of land, paying therefor $22,000, on which he proposes to erect a Memorial Dispensary and Hospital for the benefit of the poor of the city, without regard to creed, nationality or condition. The founder calls it a memorial institution in memory of two deceased daughters.

Rev. Calvin Fairbank and Mrs. M. T. Fairbank, well known to our readers from their great sacrifices on account of the barbarism of the Kentucky slave system, now residents of Williamsburg, Mass., are applicants for the position of Managers, as Superintendents, etc., in the proposed "Colored Soldier's Orphan School and Home" spoken of in our Philadelphia correspondence of Dec. 29th. Identified as they have been by long suffering and brave sacrifices for the colored race, there would be a peculiar fitness in their appointment, in addition to their excellent personal qualifications for such a work.

Rev. William L. Watson, a native of Kentucky and late a student of King's College, London, who is now in this city, recently arrived from London, will deliver a lecture in the lecture room of Shiloh Presbyterian Church, of this city, on Monday evening, February 25th. His theme will be "Education, Trades, the Present Condition and Future Prospects of the colored Race." Mr. Watson is well recommended by well known parties in England, and we trust he will have a good hearing.

Horace Greeley is remarkable for his temperate habits and great mental industry. Says the New York *Evening Gazette*:

"Few persons who know Horace Greeley as a politician, a journalist and a historian, are aware how much of a reader of miscellaneous books he is. They think him always engrossed in political subjects, in the study of finances and the tariff—a delver among dry and musty tomes, or a turner over of dusty files of the *Congressional Globe*. He pays due attention to those things; but he does not stop there. He reads almost everything from the newspapers of the day to the new novels and poems and plays, almost as fast as they are issued from the press. He is one of the hardest workers and greatest students in New York. He is never idle.

"Greeley usually writes two or three or four articles daily for the *Tribune* when he is not out of town; attends punctually to what is probably the largest private correspondence of any one man in the Union; reads four or five hours out of every twenty-four; sees from twenty to five hundred people from everywhere on all sorts of missions; and then fancies he wastes a great deal of his time. He has as wide and profound an acquaintance with general literature as any member of his profession, and can quote poetry from the best authors by the hour. He wrote some very clever pieces of verse in his youth, and no doubt could now do something in that way that would live. But he will not. He says he has more serious, and for him, better work to do; and so, finding his recreation in literature, he turns to Reconstruction, Universal Suffrage and the Tariff for his labor, which, however, he does very easily, and makes a genuine pleasure of."

The New York *Evening Post* says:

"The Boston committee, of which ex-Gov. Andrew is Chairman, appointed to collect a testimonial fund of fifty thousand dollars, to be given to William Lloyd Garrison, as a mark of public respect "for a life of singular and unselfish consecration to the noblest object," have reported progress. They have already collected above twenty thousand dollars of the sum proposed. They have eleven subscriptions of $500 each, viz.: Gerrit Smith, Peterboro, N. Y.; Francis G. Shaw and R. Warren Weston, New York; Samuel May, William E. Coffin, John M. Forbes and William F. Weld, Boston; Eben D. Draper, Milford; John Bertram, Salem; Thomas Mott, and Williams, Sellers & Co., Philadelphia; one of $200, and six of $100 each. Mrs. Elizabeth Nichols, of Scotland, gives £100; and others make up a total of about $1,300 from Great Britain. The committee, at the same time, make an appeal for further contributions, in which they say:

"We have received numerous inquiries as to the condition and prospects of the undertaking, and are happy to be able to assure its friends that both are satisfactory. They have repeatedly suspended their work, at times when great public interests and claims were especially demanding attention, so that it has made less progress than it would have done under other circumstances.

"The Committee feel that the time has come when the subscriptions already made to the testimonial should be published, so that all interested therein may know what has been done and what remains to be done, and that those who have not yet learned of the undertaking, and who desire to testify their respect for a life of singular and unselfish consecration to the noblest object, may have now the opportunity of contributing such sums as best suit their own convenience, the largest and the smallest being alike welcome and important, to this National Testimonial.

"Gov. Bullock, of Massachusetts, in sending to the Committee his contribution, after alluding to the public grants and private benefactions often made, in other countries, in recognition of great public and patriotic services, says: 'But here is a man who has placed humanity and history under just tribute. And why should it not be rendered to him—all unsought as it is on his part—while his life endures on the earth?'

"The Committee hope to receive, without delay, the names and donations of the friends of this testimonial in every part of the country. These should be sent to our Secretary and Assistant Treasurer, Rev. Samuel May, Jr., P. O. Box 3605, Boston, Mass."

THE EQUAL RIGHTS WORK AND WORKERS.

To the Editor of the Standard:

EVERY member and friend of the Equal Rights Association will thank you for the editorial article in your last on our operations in New York, and their great necessity at the present moment. Such an appeal is none the less effective for the colored *man* because it reached to the colored *woman* also. And to the white woman, too. The ten commandments know nothing of "white male citizens." Nor does the Divine legislation anywhere. Every one must give account to God alike. So God created all alike, equal; treats all alike, as equal. Let human governments go and do likewise. How dare they do otherwise so long?

You called the roll of our present workers truly in your article last week; but there are others who would gladly co-operate, did our finances permit; or had they means of their own. What does it mean, that the best and greatest of us all, "had not where to lay his head!" How came it to pass that those who have most faithfully gone up and down doing good, have gone on foot, and in the old time, went on bare feet? Surely we must not complain, but more money now would give us more men, or better yet, more women; and more work would be done, and no doubt to proportionably greater result.

And you don't know how we are importuned to go into other fields, especially into Michigan and Kansas. Tell your readers that the soul of John Brown may be "*marching on*" but that he has a soul of omnipresence still for Kansas. Baptized by immersion in blood, in infancy, it comes forth a young giant, wrestling in its very cradle with the loathsome serpents of political proscription; and now if the people are true to their Legislature and themselves, we shall soon have one State redeemed from that curse and crime: one State where taxation and representation will go hand in hand: one State where suffrage and citizenship will know no color nor sex: one State with a government based on the Declaration of Independence, and so at least an approximation towards a true Democracy.

I sat in the Legislative gallery until midnight on Thursday last, to hear the discussion on your approaching Constitutional Convention. Both parties were divided on some questions; and the contentions were quite as violent in the same family, as when on other questions the two families fell out with each other. Several Democrats spoke very well for equal suffrage irrespective of color, and some Republicans were bitter in their contempt of negro equality. One Democrat declared his willingness to extend suffrage to woman, and one Republican was understood to do the same; but the general sentiment seemed to ignore her claims altogether. A great deal was said, and well said, by Republicans in favor of admitting sixteen Democrats to the Convention, to be chosen at large, because it was held that the Constitution should emanate from *the people*, and not from a party; and that minorities in such cases must have rights which could not and should not be disregarded. Generally, however, the speakers seemed to forget that *colored* minorites had any rights, and with the exceptions I have named, woman, whether in minority or majority, did not appear to have any rights which masculine mortality was bound to respect. Humanity's western hemisphere has not, to vast multitudes of our own wise and prudent, been yet revealed. Like the remotest stars, woman's light is to them yet unseen; *has not travelled down to them.*

The Legislature adjourned on Friday to take ten days respite from the labors of State; leaving the question of the Convention unsettled, but to be taken in hand the first thing after the reassembling. Tell us if you can this week, with what prayer and offering we must approach them at that time, so that our suit may find favor in their sight, and New York answer to Kansas like deep calling unto deep, heralding that good time coming, and sure to come, when human and divine governments shall have the same underpinning of freedom and righteousness, with eternal justice the chief corner-stone.

PARKER PILLSBURY.

Troy, 17 February, 1867.

THIRTY-THIRD NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

[OUR list of contributions to the Subscription Anniversary in Boston, as published last week, was imperfect, and we therefore reprint it with important additions and corrections:]

The Managers of the National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary report to their friends their gratifying success in the effort to fill the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Giving fair consideration to the unpropitious weather, the attendance was as large as they expected, and the contributions will enable the Society to meet the close of the year out of debt. The sympathy and co-operation they have met with has been most encouraging, and shows that the events of the passing months have fully roused the old friends, and some new ones, to their duty. Sustained by their success, they join hands with all friends for the labor of another year. The contributions amount to something more than TWENTY-FOUR HUNDRED DOLLARS.

CONTRIBUTIONS.

Pennsylvania Female Anti-Slavery Society	$300 00
Pikes (the gift of B. Snow, Jr)	50 00
Mrs. George R. Russell,	200 00
Mr. and Mrs. D. L. Child	50 00
Mrs. Anna Shaw Greene	200 00
Wm. I. Bowditch	50 00
Mr. and Mrs. Bourne Spooner	100 00
James N. Buffum	20 00
Mrs. Lydia D. Parker	20 00
Mrs. G. L. Stearns	100 00
Sallie Holley	25 00
Mrs. Lydia Emerson	10 00
Gerrit Smith	65 00
J. M. Forbes	50 00
Rev. Samuel Johnson	10 00
The Misses Ireson	10 00
C. M. Severance	5 00
T. C. Severance	5 00
Stephen S. Foster	5 00
R. A. & M. Goddard	5 00
Miss Mehitable Haskell	2 00
Ann Greene Phillips	100 00
Rev. Samuel J. May	10 00
C. K. & E. C. Whipple	10 00
Rev. Photius Fiske	50 00
R. P. Hallowell	25 00
Mrs. S. J. Nowell	10 00
Mr. and Mrs. Nathaniel White	50 00
Mr. and Mrs. George Greene	10 00
Mr. and Mrs. John Sawyer	10 00
S. Lasar, New York	10 00
F. King, Boston	10 00
Mr. and Mrs. R. H. Ober	10 00
A. M. & A. R. Powell	5 00
Sarah Cowing	5 00
Susan Cowing	5 00
Mary Willey	2 00
Rev. R. Connor	10 00
Wendell Phillips	100 00
Mary Grew	5 00
Henry C. Wright	2 00
C. M. Slack	3 00
R. D. Webb, Dublin	32 50
D. B. & A. B. Morey	15 00
R. W. Henshaw	10 00
John C. Haynes	10 00
James A. Burr	25 00
James Jackson	5 00
Mrs. Gwinn	5 00
Mrs. J. T. Sargent	10 00
Frank H. Sargent	1 00
Mrs. James Nowell	5 00
C. Wellington	10 00
Selinda A. B. Lilly, East Calais, Vt.	20 00
Miss C. K. Sargent	1 00
Miss H. P. Hall	1 00
Mrs. Joseph Plumb	2 00
A Friend	1 00
Mrs. A. T. Swift	1 00
Mrs. E. D. Rockwood	10 00
Rev. Edwin Thompson	2 00
Mrs. M. M. Brooks	30 00
Mrs. Emily B. Ahlborn	10 00
J. H. Stephenson	10 00
Seth Hunt	5 00
Adela Gates	3 00
Lewis Stimpson	1 00
Susan Remond	4 00
Isaac Pitman	10 00
Mrs. G. G. Adams	5 00
Miss C. F. Putnam	2 00
Russell Marston	10 00
A. M. Chase	5 00
M. Colburn	50
A Friend	50
Mrs. Glaister	50
Mrs. J. M. Smith	2 00
Mr. McLaughlin	1 00
A Friend, Bangor	2 00
A. Parmenter, Newport	5 00
B. Chase, Auburn, N. H.	1 00
Maria Sawin	1 00
Mrs. George S. Burleigh	1 00
Nelson W. Cook	1 00
Anne T. Jacobs	1 00
Edward B. Perkins	3 00
Mrs. Helen Coffin	2 00
M. B. Lucas	2 00
F. Burnham	2 00
F. Hathaway	5 00
L. Mendum	3 00
Mrs. Lydia L. Walker	2 00
A Friend	1 00
Mary A. Reed	1 00
A Friend	1 00
Mrs. Frances H. Drake	1 00
Miss Elizabeth Wilder	1 00
Joel Smith	1 00
W. M. Howland	1 00
Neponsit	2 00
M. T. Sage	3 00
C. P. Coleman	10 00
Nancy A. Hayward	1 00
M. T. Johnson	1 00
Miss Susan M. Burr	1 00
Miss Halliburton	1 00
O. J. Grimes	1 00
G. C. Hicker	1 00
Mrs. M. B. Boardman	10 00
Mrs. Maria T. Willey	3 00
E. B. Place	3 00
Mrs. M. L. Goddard	5 00
John S. Rogers	5 00
John W. Wetherbee	5 00
Mary E. Allen	5 00
Slocum Howland	5 00
Mrs. A. W. Haven	5 00
Caroline Wellington	3 00
Eliza Wellington	3 00
H. F. Morey	5 00
Mrs. K. Hubbard	5 00
Rev. L. A. Grimes	1 00
Amos Cummings	10 00
C. C. Thayer	5 00
Julia M. Friend	3 00
E. H. Magill	5 00
Dr. A. Brooke, Marlboro, O.	5 00
Mr. and Mrs. Josheph Merrill, Danvers	5 00
Hutchinson	3 00
Charles Richardson	5 00
Mrs. Mary S. Moses	3 00

PLEDGES.

B. Snow, Jr., Fitchburg	50 00
Margaret P. Snow	50 00
Emeline Smith	25 00
F. W. Bird	50 00
E. H. Day	12 00
A Bearse	5 00
D. H. A. Joy	25 00

SOUTHERN CORRESPONDENCE.

LETTER FROM A SOUTH CAROLINIAN.

SOUTH CAROLINA, January 29th, 1867.

To the Editor of the Standard:

DEAR SIR: Among the many good reasons for a radical reconstruction of the South, may be set down the fact, that your correspondent deems it his only security against the hand of the assassin, to withhold even the name of the locality from which this is penned. There is no safety here in utterances untainted by the hate of a malicious rebellion. It is true, Congressmen do come to examine into the condition of our affairs, and speak out a little of their radicalism, without fear or favor, as masters of the situation. At one time in our history, even such as these would have been cursed to their faces, on the avowal of their ideas of "Black Republicanism;" but I am glad to say that something has been gained by the war, even in South Carolina! Before the war, tar and feathers, or a hempen cord, would have been in demand for such "vile apostates," regardless of their talents or positions, and no insignia of the government they represented could have saved them from indignity and perhaps death. But now, the wily hypocrites who inaugurated the rebellion cringingly smile upon the very men they have so long affected to despise, listen to their hated radicalism with the mean servility of slaves, and *deferentially* yield to them as the representatives of a power they once turned their backs upon, but now wantonly covet—while at the same time they are ready to strike down, in the dark, any neighbor the moment he enunciates words of such import. Thus they accomplish a three-fold object—rid themselves of an opponent and the loyal nation of a supporter, save themselves from the penalty of law and keep the crime itself from the calender, and, lastly, most insinuatingly impose upon the trusting nature of such noble men as Ben. Wade, while, at the same time, they are effectively crushing out every vestige of the loyal sentiment of the South, by thus overawing the masses into an implicit obedience to a dictation which savors only of meanness and cunning.

It has been urged by the present *bogus* Legislature of South Carolina, and her rebel editors generally—who are, if possible, remnants of a still lower strata of crime and infamy—that, "in honor," they could not ratify the Constitutional Amendment, *because they would thereby permit and sanction a most odious distinction between the people and their leaders*, disqualifying their leaders from holding office under the government, and thus appropriate to themselves, as the people, those very privileges they had been instrumental in denying to their "patriotic" leaders in the lost cause. Now, sir, all these airs about honor, etc., are only cunningly-devised schemes to deceive the people of the State and the Union. This fraudulent swagger, however, is so monstrous in its proportions, and the veil covering it so extremely thin, that all who *will* may see, at a glance, its hideous deformity. Our rebels are adepts in deceit and double-dealing, and have been only too successful in the practice of false theories; and the term "policy" seems to be appropriately chosen to designate their political status on all questions of national interest. They manifestly subscribe to no theory, or action, which rises above a poor, weak, time-serving policy—Johnson's included—and cling to it as their *only* hope, even though it has been demonstrated a thousand times before, that political well-being depends upon fixed laws, immutably based on truth and justice, the operation of which no mere "policy" of the demagogue can more than temporarily avail to impair or avert. The little truth in their assertions, however, may involve *even more than their "honor!"* Not unlike their great prototype of rebellion, they mix a few grains of truth into their deceptive baits, leaving the victims to learn *why*, when they see the meshes closely around them. "Policy," based on falsehood, is the ground-work of their faith and practice. They assert that they cannot "in honor" disqualify their leaders from holding office, or become a party thereto—and this is true, whether in honor or dishonor, *only* because they have no leaders! They themselves are the leaders of the rebellion, and truly enough, *cannot become their own leaders!* Honorable, virtuous, immaculate—they cannot, "in honor," impose any disqualification to their own aspirations for emolument and power—and at the same time attempt to produce the impression, on the minds of the people, that they are *so very saintly in their martyr-like convictions*, as to refuse for themselves the vacant seats of those who would be thus ostracised! This is rebel honor, and goes so far toward establishing the doctrine of original sin, in this locality, that, I presume, no argument is needed to fix its proper application in the minds of all true men, North and South.

While those holding the reins under the Johnson and Perry policy, assuming to be both *the people* and *their* representatives, are declaring that they are the embodiment of public opinion here, let it be understood by the friends of the Union, everywhere, that a majority of the free white voters of South Carolina did not endorse them at the ballot-box, since the war—nor did such a majority endorse them when the question of secession was presented for their approval! Not more than *one-third* of the people have gone to the polls since the war; consequently these demagogues are not, *in any sense*, the representatives of the people! The unconditional Union men have not voted in *their* election, because they have been loth to admit thereby that the great Union party had only conquered the rebels to place them *as masters* over the few lovers of the old flag who are left to tell the tale of their own dreadful sufferings, and witness at last, their *legalized* humiliation, degradation and woe! There is another class who *hate* the old flag so intensely, as to stand aloof entirely from any acknowledgment of its supremacy. Would that *all* who hate it could so far respect themselves, and the cause of truth, as to act *honestly*, if they are nevertheless incapacitated from acting *wisely* in the matter. There is another class which was so badly frightened by the threats of secessionists in 1860, that they *then* left the State to the mercy of those fanatics, by keeping aloof from the polls—thus electing those very scoundrels, by *default*. These are still in the condition of the old lady who refused to let her son venture into water over anckle deep before he could swim perfectly well; and, waiting for the tide, are ready to leap in whenever they are perfectly assured that they will be borne toward their desired haven with safety and success.

It may be set down, then, as a fact, which, I think, will bear the closest scrutiny, that the secessionists of 1860, and the rebel-copperhead faction of to-day never received a majority of the white votes of South Carolina, as an endorsement of their course in attempting to take the State out of the Union—or restoring it thereto, under the usurped authority of Andrew Johnson!

What shall I say, then, in view of my own past suffering and degradation? Shall I stand idly by while this cruel mob rules to-day, as it has ruled for the last six years, without the authority even of the people of the most rebellious State *in the Union?* No, sir, they have not the sanction of even the most hostile of the American people to the Union, and I say, Down with the tyrants! I do not forget that I periled life to avert the storm which they, in their madness, raised against the life of the nation, and then, a second time periled it at the cannon's mouth, in defence of their hated cause, and their still more hateful cowardice. You who hate treason as I do, may unwittingly hate the brave hearts whom circumstances hurled, in armed rebellion, against the greatest and best government the world ever saw, but I assure you I find among them *now* the highest devotion to the Union and a radical reconstruction of the government. If there are any extra vials of wrath in reserve, to be poured out on the vilest of the vile, empty them speedily upon the devoted heads of the present State officials of South Carolina—not forgetting the cowardly editors, who are again plying *their* tools of warfare, after having shrunk from the late great contest like trembling, skulking, poltroons, neither fit to live nor die!

Why "confederate" soldiers are more disposed to accept the result of the war in good faith, may be found in the fact, that very many of them were *originally* the most uncompromising Union men, and were, for that very reason, so unpopular among the leaders, that they could not secure any civil office whatever, and, consequently, were compelled at last to go into the army, or be shot down in cold blood at home. Secessionists, generally, secured good soft places, far away from the fight, and speculated on the necessities of the poor soldier's families—while the poor Union men were led like sheep to the slaughter, in defense of the odious cause these traitors inaugurated, but were too cowardly to fight for. You hold these blood-thirsty, yet cowardly, villains responsible for the hundreds of thousands of brave men you sent to the field to be slain in defense of the nation's life, and I hold them responsible for all the lives we of the South have sacrificed on the altar of secession, in attempting to destroy the government of our glorious Union. From every battle-field of this great land—from almost every nook and corner of the sunny South, from Salisbury and Andersonville, from Lookout and Elmira, methinks, I see the gory, mutilated and emaciated forms of my countrymen rise from the cold, cheerless sod, and, as the true representatives of both sections, proclaim these impudent, unfeeling traitors as the murderers of each and all! And, sir, shall I who have suffered every indignity at their hands—I, who perilled life and limb on the battle-field *at their* bidding—who endured every conceivable shade of suffering from fatigue, cold, nakedness, and hunger, on the march, at the camp, in the field, and in prison—worse than robbed by the plundering legislation and speculation of these civil, fiend-like wretches—shall I welcome them back, as the chosen rulers of a loyally reconstructed South? Do I indeed bring reproach upon myself, and consign my name to infamy, as a native-born South Carolinian, in repudiating their claims to the confidence of the loyal people, North and South? If this be a cause for reproach, dishonor and infamy, then I welcome each, and all, as jewels in the crown of my rejoicing—and would that I had a voice of thunder to stir the hearts of the brave and free everywhere, against the insinuating advances of these perjured hypocrites and murderers!

In behalf of the downtrodden, oppressed loyalists of the South, of all sexes, colors and conditions, I beseech the guardians of our rights, assembled in the Capitol of the nation, to permit *no compromise* with our rebellious leaders. They have sworn falsely once, at least, and will again if the opportunity is presented. Do not allow them, as our loyal rulers, even to adopt the Constitutional Amendments! They have deliberately rejected those Amendments in their pretended official capacity, in order to obtain what they like infinitely better: viz, "Universal Amnesty for Impartial Suffrage!" By this compromise they certainly expect to be placed over us as masters still—with enough power in hand to compel black and white to give them their votes, when once more allowed by Congress to receive them. Turn them out of office, and forever disqualify them for positions of honor or trust! Keep them from the ballot-box, until their probation warrants the franchise, and their good behavior the nation's safety! They tell you, without them, we are incompetent to govern ourselves. It is false, in every particular! With their disgraceful failure the past six years before them, I should think they would be willing to let us try, without our reverting to their own imbecility and meanness. If the negroes of the South cannot govern us better than they have, I shall feel ashamed of them—and say, that they, too, might safely wait a while for the ballot. Turn them out! Turn them out! and give us a Territorial or Military government instead—if we, who *love* the government are incapable of administering the laws of a *loyal* State. Anything in the shape of a government, that exhibits strength and executive ability, is preferred by a large class here, who dare not speak, to the rule of traitors, dastards and cowards! Hear us, we beseech you, as the suffering descendants of those noble men who stood shoulder to shoulder with your fathers at Bunker Hill and Eutaw! Hear us, as the lovers of that still glorious heritage for which they lived and died—and for *their* sakes, in view of our common history and destiny, forgive us, as the *brave* but *unwilling* defenders of treason and its perjured authors! PLEBIAN.

IN his private note, our Southern correspondent says:

"I have written on *both* sides of the paper, in order to make the bulk as small as possible. I have some reason to believe the sworn, rebel-copperhead Postmasters of the South stop all *suspicious* letters going North, lest a greater array of facts against them should find their way to the loyal public, and result in their overthrow, and that of the vile horde which once more darkens the plains of our Sunny South. My name must be kept from these vampyres at all hazards if I am to work longer for the loyal cause. For twenty years I have suffered persecution and nearly death, for my devotion to freedom and the Union. At last forced into the rebel army by conscription, I obeyed the *form*, but left the spirit to be obeyed by those who felt it better than I did. Robbed and abused by Jeff. Davis, plundered and burnt out by Gen. Sherman, I thank God that I still live to see the old flag float over the whole land once more, and would prefer to be a naked, hungry beggar, to holding the highest position of honor or profit under the rule of traitors, still over us.

"I have but little space, but I must say yet, that I have been apprised, within a few days, that there is an organized company of men-stealers and kidnappers in this State, hiring colored laborers to go westward, for the express purpose—avowedly so—of sending them to Cuba, for sale; this and adjoining districts have been visited by these wretches, and they are trying to get agents to aid them in their hellish purpose—holding out the profits as an inducement. One rebel writes from Brazil that he found one of his old slaves there, who offered him the labor of years to come to get him released. In the name of humanity look after these things."

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, February 16, 1867.

THE coming and going of St. Valentine's day reminds me that one fruitful source of the demoralization of Northern young men—the habit of marrying Southern plantations, and adopting plantation manners and customs, as a means of recommending themselves to their new connections and associates—has ceased. Probably few Valentines have passed, this week, between North and South, nor will they pass until a new generation shall arise in the latter under the auspices of loyalty and freedom. Our loss from these matrimonial connections during past years has been incalculable. Some of our best young men fell into this snare; and if the majority thus taken captive were far other than the best, still, it was very undesirable to have them made worse than before, a result which almost invariably took place. Apostatizing from the idea of freedom, they first became ashamed of labor, then fell into the customary vices of Southern society, and finally were drawn into the vortex of rebellion.

One of these, Albert Pike, who early forsook his native Massachusetts, leaving unpaid debts behind him, ultimately chose Arkansas as the most satisfactory place of residence, threw himself heartily into the policy of the slaveholders, became a prominent leader in the rebellion, persuaded the Cherokees (after the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had formally declared them "a Christian nation") to engage in the war for the maintenance of slavery, and, a few months ago, applied to President Johnson for a pardon—has just made a new declaration of sentiments. The Memphis *Appeal*, now under his management, takes the ground that the Southern States are simply on parole, and not bound in honor to obey the laws of the United States; and that when they are "*wanted*" and "*invited*" to return to the Union, and can elect such persons as they choose to represent them, it will be soon enough for them to take that step. Meanwhile, the *Appeal* must continue to believe that the States of the South were right in the great controversy, which culminated in civil war.

A characteristic letter of Rev. Dr. Nathan Lord, formerly President of Dartmouth College, has just been published in the Charleston (S. C.) *Mercury*. It repeats that endorsement of the rectitude and wisdom of enslavement of the blacks which the reverend gentleman has so often expressed in former times, and adds that the fault of the war rests with the North, and that the whole controversy about slavery which preceded the war was carried on, on the part of the North, in a manner unworthy of a Christian people. A paper read by Mr. Joseph S. Fay before the American Association for the promotion of Social Science, at its late meeting here, takes for granted that we shall have no more *clean* cotton from the South, now that slavery is abolished. And a Southern defender of slavery, writing to the *Christian Register*, of this city, maintains not only that the negro is now lapsing from the condition of a slave to that of a savage; but that no education, no circumstances whatever, can fit him for political and civil equality with the white race. The vast mass of testimony that exists as to the currency of feelings and opinions of this sort, North and South, in Church and State, in literature, commerce and social life, seems to me by itself to refute the idea entertained by some that the nation has undergone an Anti-Slavery conversion, and that there is no longer such a Radical difference between the mass of the people and the Abolitionists as to justify the latter in retaining their organization, continuing their instrumentalities, and calling the public to their meetings. *Our* claim for the negro is that equal rights be given him as a matter of *justice*. Of the others who are now demanding the suffrage for him, the majority, I think, take the ground merely of expediency; the nation's need of his ballot to oppose the rebels after the war, just as of his bullet to oppose them during the war.

Our proceedings in regard to Temperance are now feeling the influence of "the law's delay," which I believe may be indefinitely protracted when one of the litigants has a long purse. The action of the State Constabulary has shut up a very large number of the small drinking shops; and after this had been done, another party made complaint against four or five of the chief hotel-keepers in this city as illegal sellers of liquor. Judgment was given against them, with a sentence of three months' imprisonment in the penitentiary for each. Of course they appealed, and the appeal is still pending, and nobody knows when it will be decided; and the course of transgression of law and the systematic manufacture of drunkards is going on just as before. To the great regret of many of his friends, ex-Gov. Andrew has become the legal defender of the proprietor of the Parker House, the worst of these drinking places. It is of the mode of operation at this house that I have heard the following story, the time, if my memory serves me, being Anniversary week, last May:

A friend of ours from Philadelphia, a man thorough in regard to Temperance, as to Anti-Slavery and Peace principles, chanced to put up at the Parker House during his attendance at the Anniversary meetings, being ignorant, it is to be presumed, of the character of the place. When he called for his bill before leaving, it was found to contain, besides the regular charge, a considerable sum under the head of "Extras." Our friend asked the meaning of this charge, not being aware of having had any "Extras," and was told it was for articles sent to his room. But he had ordered no articles sent to his room. Well, there they were charged to that room, and it was to be supposed that the charge was right. But what were the articles? our friend continued to demand. At last the statement came out that they were "Extra drinks." This took away all obscurity from the matter. Our friend did not remember having ordered *anything*; but he *knew* that he had ordered no spirituous drinks, having made a point, for years, of not tasting them. And thereupon some excuse was made of a mistake in the name, or the number, or the waiter, and our friend had a *clean* bill at last given him.

Miss Hosmer's model for a Freedmen's Monument to Abraham Lincoln has had another period of free exhibition here, and has excited much interest. The subscription for a monument on this plan, to be erected at Washington, amounts now, it is said, to $25,000, promising well for the speedy acquisition of the $60,000 required. The answer to critical objections as to the comparative merits of a monument and an educational institution is, that the matter is one for the freedmen themselves to decide, and that this particular form has been chosen by their representatives.

The gentlemen who have in charge the collection of money for Mr. Garrison—in token of the public appreciation of his life-long labors for the abolition of slavery—have published a statement of their proceedings, thus far, in the *Daily Advertiser*, with the names of the donors and the sum contributed by each. The largest sum given, a hundred pounds sterling, came from an English lady, Mrs. Nichol, formerly Miss Elizabeth Pease, always an ardent laborer in the Anti-Slavery cause. Nearly an equal amount, however, has been contributed by each of a dozen persons or more in this country, and the aggregate of donations is said to be about $15,000. The Committee ask for further contributions.

Mr. George S. Hillard, of this city, has written a letter declining an invitation from the "State Sovereignty Society" of Ohio to aid in calling and conducting a National Democratic Convention, which it is proposed to hold on the 12th day of April next in Cincinnati. Mr. Hillard declines attendance, and gives reasons for thinking the holding of such a Convention inexpedient at present.

He thinks the Democratic party has not the confidence of the country; he has no faith in conventions; he considers the country sick with the disease of Radicalism, which *must* run its course, and will not be stopped by medicaments; while this disease shall last, he recommends patience, inflexible, invincible patience, to the Democrats. If the Convention should be held, its action would probably give aid and comfort to the enemy. The country is now too prosperous for any change in its policy. But when the tide shall have turned, when the seven years of plenty shall have been succeeded by seven years of famine, then (says Mr. Hillard to his Democratic friends) "we may hope for a better day." A pleasant prospect! NORTH.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, February 10, 1867.

A GOOD deed has been done by our State Senate. That body has actually passed a law forbidding the exclusion of colored people from our street cars. It has taken us almost by surprise. Earnest action has been so long delayed there that we supposed such a result quite improbable. Repeated efforts made to accomplish this purpose have been so uniformly unavailing, that we had ceased to entertain a sanguine hope in its behalf. At last the work has been done in the Senate, and now the bill goes to the Assembly. There it will surely receive favorable action, as the liberal majority is larger than in the Senate. Sincerly do we hope it may not fail, and once in the hands of Gov. Geary no apprehension need be felt concerning its fate. It may not be too soon to rejoice.

But why was not such a law passed long ago? Why has the evil been suffered so long to exist, involving such an array of cruel acts, such mean injustice, such brutal inhumanity? It is sad, it is mournful that these car companies were ever permitted to exercise such despotic, unfair and merciless authority over any portion of the community, as they have manifested towards the negro. And a large majority of the community has fully upheld them, giving countenance without rebuke to their disgraceful and atrocious conduct. The Legislature may have believed that this was a Christian city. It could not have believed that the people here would have shown such a vicious prejudice, or illustrated such a barbarous animosity towards any class as the colored people have been the victims of for so many years. But the Legislature has grown wiser. It has given the community ample time to correct this terrible abuse, and overthrow the reign of injustice. The churches have had an opportunity of showing what power for good they possessed. But this wrong they have never molested. Without protest from them it even yet prevails. It is no compliment to the community or the churches that the Legislature was at last obliged to interfere in behalf of justice. Indeed, it is mortifying to know that it was a power abroad and not humanity at home that accomplished this act for human rights. How much more worthy the character of an enlightened community had it sprung from a willingness to be just, a voluntary movement to give unto all their rights!

The record in respect to the colored people and the cars has been equally sad and shameful. No laws that can be passed to-day can blot out the wrongs hitherto done, or efface the memory of many outrageous scenes of the past. They cannot atone for the injuries that these people have endured, or give redress for their manifold grievances in the years gone by. It furnishes another chapter of "man's inhumanity to man," the long suffering and patient endurance of the victims.

The last case of cruelty and injustice connected with this subject was that of Miles Robinson, his wife and infant. They entered a car on Spruce st., and being nearly white the conductor did not notice that they belonged to the persecuted race till he had taken Mrs. Robinson's fare. He then ordered them to leave the car. The weather was very cold, it was night, the walk was long, the exposure would have been hazardous to the little child, and they refused. Their fellow-passengers, about a score in number, sustained them in their determination to remain in the car. The cruel conductor heartlessly persisted in his course, and as a final resort had the car thrown off the track. This procedure was in accordance with the established rules of the company. The victims of the abominable conduct and disgraceful rules still remained in the car, and the vexed conductor, to accomplish his cruel purpose, threw open the doors and windows, even removing the cushions, with the view of "freezing them out." They were compelled to leave, as such treatment was beyond toleration, and there was no better alternative. This case has many a parallel, and some have been far more painful. May they soon cease to disgrace civilization!

William Wells Brown lectured here on Thursday evening last in the course to which I have frequently referred. His subject was "the Heroism and Fidelity of the Black Man in the Rebellion." It was a worthy and acceptable address, filled with instructive entertainment. It comprised various incidents of heroic action on the part of the negro during the war, and numerous accounts indicating his uniform faithfulness, and his adherence to the Union cause in that trying period. The prominent black heroes were named in the eloquent recital of the deeds that make their names memorable, eliciting the warm applause of the audience. Allusion was made from time to time by the speaker during his masterly narrations, so full of life and force, to the slow motion of the government in recognizing the black man's merit, and the unjust and inexcusable course so often pursued towards him, and in so many ways. Especial stress was placed upon this ungrateful tendency of the nation, which was often so conspicuous, his rightful claims being so long denied. In view of such circumstances the record of the black soldier is bright with honor, and commanding all praise.

Mr. Brown displayed much ability in the treatment of his subject, and capacity in the arrangement of his materials into a popular and pleasing form. He closed with a fervent appeal in behalf of the ballot for his race, as the one essential element of protection, the primary and sufficient safeguard. He asked for political as well as civil emancipation; equality as well as liberty; his rights as a citizen as well as his freedom as a man.

In the advertising columns of one of our dailies appeared a notice last week of a lecture to be delivered on the Saturday evening following, by Henry Peterson. It was to be on the negative side of the question, "Should Universal Suffrage be supported by the Republican party?" As this gentleman was formerly identified with Abolitionists, it is interesting to know how he stands to-day. This, however, was shown by the position he assumed at the last Anti-Slavery Convention, on which occasion he placed himself in opposition to liberal minds, but manifested no strength, no power, nor convincing weight of argument in his antagonism.

I did not hear Mr. Peterson on Saturday evening. A severe storm prevailed, and I understand that the audience was very small. His discussion of the question of suffrage, according to the phraseology of the subject, was simply concerning its support by the "Republican party." In view of the progress of American thought and the growth of national conviction in relation to this all-important question, it behooves us to inquire into the probability of the Republican party itself being supported by the people, should that party renounce universal suffrage. Let Mr. Peterson discuss this question, namely: Can the Republican party withhold its support from this principle and still live? W.

LETTER FROM WORCESTER, MASS.

To the Editor of the Standard:

"GOD save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts!" was the spontaneous outburst from many lips, as they read the announcement in yesterday morning's *Tribune* that her Legislature will not ratify the Constitutional Amendment. The star of Massachusetts keeps in the ascendant. The proud position which the State has won by her radical counsels and brave conduct in war, she means to keep by her steady statesmanship in peace. Her sons everywhere will warm with new enthusiasm toward the good old State, when they learn that she had the manliness and independence to drop the trammels of party and miscalled expediency, and to plant herself firmly on the Plymouth granite of principles. It is glory enough for Massachusetts to be alone, of all New England, in rejecting so unjust and worthless a jumble of legislation as the act of Congress now asking for ratification, confessedly the forlorn birth of expediency and fear. God be praised that the State proves true to her training and worthy of her Revolutionary ancestry, the Adamses, the Quincys, and Fisher Ames! She will be glad of the company of her neighbor, Rhode Island, if that State shall have the self-reliance and sagacity also not to ratify the amendment. But Massachusetts alone can save the credit of the nation, of which her acts entitle her to say though her territory does not, *Magna pars fui.*

The danger was imminent lest our Legislature, in its natural wish to abide by "the preliminary sanction" of Old-Line Republicans as a party, should timidly float with the current, and take counsel of Conservatives, rather than boldly stem the tide and consort with Radicals. But that danger is happily past, and in the proposed action against the Amendment, the Legislature of our State is to give a new proof that the people are better and wiser than their politicians, and that principle, intelligence and courage are getting to be our American leaders, rather than men.

Nevertheless, there are still good men among us to be watched and guarded against, whose policy forever is, Compromise, compromise. And in dealing with the South, and with the Democratic party, the past and present ally of the South, they seem to think they can do what Fisher Ames used to call the *impossible thing of blowing up a barrel of gunpowder half way down.* In regard to educational or restricted suffrage, as against manhood suffrage—the last dodge of Johnson and his unreconstructed rebels—they forget the German proverb, "Give the devil a hair, and he will have your whole body." Let the South, by law or Constitution, keep *one* right from the negro, and they will soon clutch *all* his rights. Unrestricted suffrage, therefore, and all equality before the law, are the black man's right, and our only safety from another outbreak of fiendish Southern hostility. As Gov. Bullock has well said, at the close of his late annual message, "Unrestricted suffrage, by conferring a measure of power on those animated by the strongest incentives to acquire education for themselves and their children, will prove the surest method of elevating the race, and establishing the institutions of the South on a basis of intelligent patriotism."

The lecture of Dr. Randolph, last evening, before the Young Men's Christian Association of this city, on the Negro and his Destiny, was received with warm appreciation by a large assembly. There were passages in it of burning eloquence and force.

The lecturer thoroughly analyzed the latest dodge of educational suffrage, as proposed at Washington by sorry rebels and their leader in the Presidential chair, and spoke of the utter inadequacy and worthlessness of that and of the Constitutional Amendment now pending. Each of them constitutionally gave the black man over into the hands of his enemies. And the day that saw either of them adopted, would be a day of darkness and doom to both races.

Worcester, Feb 9, 1867. ONE OF MANY.

THE SHERMAN RECONSTRUCTION BILL.

THE following is the Sherman Reconstruction bill:

Whereas, No legal State governments or adequate protection for life or property now exists in the rebel States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, Texas, and Arkansas; *and whereas*, it is necessary that peace and good order should be enforced in said States until loyal and republican State governments can be legally established; therefore

Be it enacted etc., That said rebel States shall be divided into military districts and made subject to the military authority of the United States, as hereinafter mentioned; and for that purpose Virginia shall constitute the First District, North Carolina and South Carolina the Second District, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida the Third District, Mississippi and Arkansas the Fourth District, and Louisiana and Texas the Fifth District.

Section 2. That it shall be the duty of the President to assign to the command of each of said districts an officer of the army not below the rank of Brigadier-General, and to detail a sufficient military force to enable such officer to perform his duties and enforce his authority within the district to which he is assigned.

Section 3. That it shall be the duty of each officer assigned as aforesaid to protect all persons in their rights of person and property, to suppress insurrection, disorder, and violence, and to punish, or cause to be punished, all disturbers of the public peace and criminals; and to this end he may allow local civil tribunals to take jurisdiction of and try offenders, or, when in his judgment it may be necessary for the trial of offenders, he shall have power to organize military commissions or tribunals for that purpose; and all interference under color of State authority with the exercise of military authority under this act shall be null and void.

Section 4. That all persons put under military arrest by virtue of this act shall be tried without unnecessary delay, and no cruel or unusual punishment shall be inflicted, and no sentence of any military commission or tribunal hereby authorized affecting the life or liberty of any person shall be executed until it is approved by the officer in command of the district; and the laws and regulations for the government of the army shall not be affected by this act, except in so far as they may conflict with its provisions.

Section 5. That no sentence of death under this act shall be carried into execution without the approval of the President.

Section 6. When the people of any one of the said rebel States shall have formed a constitution and government in conformity with the Constitution of the United States in all respects, framed by a Convention of delegates elected by the male citizens of said State twenty-one years old and upward, of whatever race, color, or previous condition, who have been resident in said State for one year previous to the day of such election, except such as may be disfranchised for participation in the rebellion, or for felony at common law, and when such Constitution shall provide that the elective franchise shall be enjoyed by all such persons as have the qualifications herein stated for electors of delegates and when such Constitution shall be ratified by a majority of the persons voting on the question of ratification who are qualified as electors for delegates, and when such Constitution shall have been submitted to Congress for examination and approval and Congress shall have approved the same, and when said State by a vote of its Legislature elected under said Constitution shall have adopted the Amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed by the 39th Congress, and known as article 14, and when said article shall have become part of the Constitution of the United States, said State shall be declared entitled to representation in Congress, and Senators and Representatives shall be admitted therefrom on their taking the oath prescribed by law, and then and thereafter the preceding sections of this act shall be inoperative in said State.

LITERARY.

The American is the title of a new weekly newspaper to be published in London and Liverpool, intended to meet the wants of Americans abroad.

The speeches and addresses of the late Henry Winter Davis, one of the most eloquent of American statesmen, is likely to have a large sale. Messrs. Harper and Brothers are the publishers.

Ticknor and Fields have sold more copies of Whittier's "Snow-Bound" than of any other American poem, excepting "Hiawatha." Whittier's "Tent on the Beach" will be published next Saturday.

A curious book entitled Kaloola: or, the Adventures of Jonathan Romer, of Nantucket, by Dr. W. S. Mayo, which first appeared in 1849, and for a number of years past has been entirely out of print, has just been brought out by G. P. Putnam and Son of this city.

The London *Art Journal* for February contains an unusual attraction, in the shape of a bautiful steel engraving of one of Dore's illustrations of Tennyson's "Elaine." It represents the interior of the Castle of Astolat, at which Sir Lancelot has arrived, and is narrating his adventures to its lord, his two sons and their sister, the lovely Elaine. This illustration is in a style entirely different from that with which the most of Dore's admirers have become familiar. The *Art Journal* has, besides, its usual number of beautiful illustrations and interesting reading matter.

Emma Hardinge, long known as a "medium" and lecturer on spiritualism, is preparing a "History of Spiritualism in America," which will be published in two volumes. She has collected a vast amount of curious material, including personal narratives, contributed by zealous believers, and full accounts of the different manifestations which have taken place in the United States since the first appearance of the Fox girls. Miss Hardinge has finished her public engagement at Dodworth Hall, and after a short tarry in the West will return to England to complete her book.

RECEIVED.

The Westminster Review, American edition. New York: The Leonard Scott Publishing Company.

Littell's Living Age, edited by E. Littell. Boston: Littell, Son & Co.

The African Repository for February. Washington, D. C.: The American Colonization Society.

Every Saturday. Boston: Ticknor and Fields.

MUSICAL.

Mr. Harrison's twenty-fifth Sunday evening concert was given at Steinway Hall on the 17th inst. The attendance was very large. The selections for the orchestra—Mr. Theodore Thomas, Conductor—were from Cherubini, "Lodoiska;" Mozart, "Don Juan;" Weber, "Der Freischutz;" Lindpainter, "The Standard Bearer;" and Gungl's "Grand March," each very finely rendered. Mr. Heindl played very acceptably a flute fantasia of his own composition; Mr. Mills, upon the piano, Liszt's "Rackozy March" and his own "Recollections of Home," a delightful composition. Miss McDonald sung Schubert's "Ava Maria," Gottschalk's "Cradle Song," and Duggan's "Many a Time and Oft." The last of the series of Wednesday evening popular concerts will be given this (Wednesday) evening, with Madame Parepa and others. A concert as usual, on Sunday evening, the 24th inst.

Under the management of Mr. Harrison, a series of oratorio concerts, the "Messiah" and others, will shortly be given at Steinway Hall, with Madame Parepa, Miss Hutchings, Messrs. Simpson and Thomas, Theodore Thomas's orchestra, and the New York Harmonic Society, of two hundred voices.

Madame Parepa and Carl Rosa assisted at the grand oratorio concert of the Handel and Haydn Society, in Boston, on Sunday evening last.

The new season of the Italian opera, under the direction of Max Maretzek, at the Academy of Music, will commence on Thursday, March 7th.

OBITUARY.

DIED, in Byberry, Pa., on seventh day, the 9th inst, SAMUEL KIRK, in the 61st year of his age.

The loss of this good man is irreparable in the neighborhood in which he lived. The funeral of the deceased took place on fourth day, the 13th inst., and so large was the gathering at the spacious Friends' meeting-house, in Byberry, as to fill it to its utmost capacity. Elizabeth Paxon, Sarah Betts, Rebecca Iredale and Robert Purvis severally testified to his many virtues—holding as most prominent, his conscientiousness, soundness of judgment, and active sympathies with the Anti-Slavery cause, and whatever of reform tended to man's elevation.

Advertisements.

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Miscellaneous Department.

THE IDIOT BOY.

[The Philadelphia *Press* quotes the following beautiful poem, and says, "Those who have heard this touching effusion recited by the celebrated tragedian, Mr. Forrest, will never forget either the pathos with which he renders it or his simple, affecting introduction to it. Mr. Forrest thinks the writer was the brother of the poet Southey; but whosoever he was, his name should be connected with, whenever published or read, what will awaken the most melancholy and pleasing emotions :"]

It had pleased God to form poor Ned
  A thing of idiot mind,
Yet to the poor, unreas'ning boy
  God had not been unkind.

Old Sarah loved her helpless child,
  Whom helplessness made dear,
And life was everything to him
  Who knew no hope or fear.

She knew his wants, she understood
  Each half-artic'late call;
For he was everything to her,
  And she to him was all.

And so for many a year they lived,
  Nor knew a wish beside;
But age at length on Sarah came,
  And she fell sick and died.

He tried in vain to 'waken her,
  He called her o'er and o'er;
They told him she was dead—the word
  To him no import bore.

They closed her eyes and shrouded her,
  Whilst he stood wond'ring by,
And when they bore her to the grave
  He followed silently.

They laid her in the narrow house,
  And sung the funeral stave,
And when the mournful train dispersed
  He loitered by the grave.

The rabble boys that used to jeer
  Whene'er they saw poor Ned,
Now stood and watch'd him at the grave,
  And not a word was said.

They came and went and came again,
  And night at last drew on;
Yet still he lingered at the place
  Till every one had gone.

And when he found himself alone,
  He quick removed the clay,
And raised the coffin in his arms
  And bore it quick away.

Straight went he to his mother's cot
  And laid it on the floor,
And with the eagerness of joy
  He barred the cottage door.

At once he placed his mother's corpse
  Upright within her chair,
And then he heaped the hearth and blew
  The kindling fire with care.

She was now in her wonted chair,
  It was her wonted place,
And bright the fire blazed and flashed,
  Reflected from her face.

Then bending down he'd feel her hands,
  Anon her face behold;
Why, mother, do you look so pale—
  And why are you so cold?

And when the neighbors on next morn
  Had forced the cottage door,
Old Sarah's corpse was in the chair,
  And Ned's was on the floor.

It had pleased God from this poor boy
  His only friend to call;
Yet God was not unkind to him,
  For death restored him all.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The question of woman suffrage in England continues to be pressed, and the indications are that a very powerful influence favorable to it will be brought to bear upon Parliament. A considerable number of persons of distinction, who have not hitherto been supposed to have any interest in the subject, have come forward as its advocates, among others James Martineau, Herbert Spencer, Professor Huxley, and Goldwin Smith. It is remarkable that in England, as in America, the agitation for the enfranchisement of woman has been chiefly produced by those who have been interested in the rights of the negro in America and in the English colonies. The London *Review*, in an article on "Woman Suffrage in America," attributes the movement to the anti-slavery agitation. The entire passage will doubtless be of interest to your readers. It says:

"In the course of that agitation there were constant appeals in anti-slavery meetings to general principles of 'human rights' and 'equality,' which very obviously applied to unfranchised women as well as to negroes. In the early meetings of the 'Garisonian Abolitionists' of New England, the women were not on an equality; they had a separate Anti-Slavery Society. But after a few years they came to regard this separation of the sexes in their meetings as inconsistent, and the 'Female Anti-Slavery Society' was abolished by being absorbed into the other. From that time women, among whom have been eminent Quakeresses—such as Lucretia Mott, and Anna Dickinson—have been foremost among the orators and agents of the Anti-Slavery Society. Margaret Fuller, also, began her work in America about twenty-five years ago; and her radical book, entitled 'Woman in the Nineteenth Century,' became almost a new gospel to American women. 'It is worthy of remark,' wrote that lady in the *Dial*, in 1844, 'that as the principle of liberty is better understood and more nobly interpreted, a broader protest is made on behalf of woman. As men become aware that all men have not had a fair chance, they are inclined to say that no women have had a fair chance.' 'Woman,' she also said, 'if by a sympathy as to outward condition she is led to aid the enfranchisement of the slave, must, no less by inward tendency, favor measures which promise to bring the world more thoroughly and deeply into harmony with her nature.' To the influence of her writings, the various alterations of laws affecting the rights of woman in America have been traced, and she undoubtedly showed to her sisters how closely their 'rights' were bound up with those of the slave. It is certain that the faith in woman suffrage has gone on hand-in-hand with the anti-slavery movement, and it is very doubtful whether its triumph can be long delayed after that of negro emancipation, which took precedence of it because it contended with terrible wrongs.

"It is, indeed, difficult to see on what grounds the exclusion of women from the suffrage can be defended in a country which admits men of every land, however poor or ignorant, to that privilege. It cannot be maintained there that it is necessary to exclude them in order that they may not become absorbed in politics, and thus unfitted for domestic life and duty—for it is notorious that American women were already very deeply interested in politics, and that to admit them to the polls would not be so much creating a new political influence as recognizing one that already exists. It may, indeed, be doubted whether the denial to them of a normal channel for their political influence does not tend to increase their absorption in political affairs. This very agitation for the suffrage, which has assumed now such large proportions that it has recently called together some of the largest conventions that have been of late held in America, must be carrying into public life a large number of women who, were the prize won, would return to the quiet ways of domestic life. Moreover, any divisions and evils that it has been apprehended woman suffrage might bring into the home, may be assumed in America as already existing; and, indeed, it is declared by some observers that the bitterness of the female politician is intensified by the fact that she is unable to counteract the political power of her husband, if she believes it wrongly directed, otherwise than by her tongue."

In this country the ladies most active in promoting memorials and circulating documents on the subject are Mrs. B. A. Taylor and Miss Cobbe, whose devotion to the cause of union and emancipation during the recent American war is so well known. There is also something impressive in the fact that Miss Helen Taylor, the step-daughter of John Stuart Mill, and the daughter of the wife whose article in the *Westminster* on the "Non-existence of Woman," and the dedication in Mill's work on Liberty, have made her so widely known, is now very active in the same direction, to which she brings an ability equal to that of her mother, as they who read an article by her in the current number of the *Westminster Review* will discover. The Woman Franchise Association is about to circulate that article as a tract. The prejudice against which the friends of this reform have to fight is very blind and hard, however, and, I regret to think, as prevalent among women as among men. —*M. D. Conway, in the Commonwealth.*

ON THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS.

Mr. Solly, F.R.S., F.R.C.S., Surg. St. Thomas's Hosp., Lond., says, speaking of the education of girls: "As an old physiologist I wish to give my opinion. I am quite certain that there would be less illness among the upper classes if their brains were more regularly and systematically worked." Again Dr. Aldis of London says: "I am perfectly convinced, as the result of many years' practice, that whatever tends to develop the minds of women will have the best effect on their moral and physical as well as intellectual health." Dr. Hufeland, in a work edited by Dr. Erasmus Wilson, F.R.S., says: "It was the first and unalterable destiny of man, that he should earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. He who eats without labor will never thrive. We shall find that no idler ever attained to a great age; and that those who have been distinguished for their longevity were all men whose lives had been extremely active and laborious. But mental idleness is hurtful as well as bodily, because it produces languor. What do we remark in a man who is subject to languor? He begins to yawn; this already betrays that the passage of the blood through the lungs is interrupted. The power of the heart and vessels suffers of course, and becomes too torpid. If the evil continues longer, accumulations and stoppages of the blood take place. The organs of digestion acquire a tendency to weakness, * * * all the functions are weakened and deranged. A state which disturbs the most important functions of the body, and which enfeebles power, is a shortner of life. But I think I hear one ask, What is the best remedy for languor? It accompanies us to the ball, to the playhouse, the tea-table, in our walks. In answer, there is only one, but not a very agreeable remedy for it, and that is, regular occupation."

Again, to quote from Dr. Spencer Thompson: "How common is etiolation, or blanching, caused by town life; this, as Dr. James Johnson traces, is indicative, in the highest classes, of no avocation, in the middle and lower of unhealthy avocation. No avocation and unhealthy avocation! the one with its ennui, its indulgences, and its excitements; the other with its over-work, and anxieties, and its excitements." Dr. Leared, D.D., Oxon, and Lond., when speaking of the injury to the digestive organs caused by luxurious habits, writes thus: "Idleness, and the want of a definite pursuit in life, must rank high in the class of causes." Unfortunately doctors are sometimes too busy, or too inconsiderate, to give the whole of the subject the careful investigation it deserves. They find a child feverish and excitable, and they say, Stop the lessons. But a little knowledge is a dangerous thing, and if these doctors knew more, they would find that various causes are capable of producing the same result. The strange and remarkable adventures of "Lydia Languish" may be the cause of a nervous fatigue, commonly supposed to be produced by the intensely exciting nature of French verbs or the history of England. Should the doctor, misled by the accounts given of the number of hours spent in work, prescribe absolute rest, the evil will of course be aggravated, for it is just as impossible for the brain of a child to remain inactive, as it is for any other part of its body. If a child be not occupied in healthy work, it will find some other. Exciting day-dreams and sensational novels will take the place of grammar and history; juvenile balls, of wholesome exercise.—*Fraser's Magazine.*

GEN. VON MOLTKE AND THE RECENT WAR.

A Prussian staff officer at Berlin has sent to the *Pall Mall Gazette* the following notes on the late war and its master-spirit, Gen. von Moltke:

Gen. von Moltke is, by birth, a Mecklenburger, not a Holsteiner, as many suppose. He is about sixty years old, very learned, very sparing of words, and very mild and courteous in demeanor. No instance is known in the army of his having spoken harshly to any one, and his criticism of the acts of subordinates seldom assumes a severer form than that of telling them what he would have done if he had been in their place. He looks more like a professor or a clergyman than a soldier, with his clever, thoughtful, beardless face. Forty years ago he accompanied Gen von Muffling to Turkey, witnessed the conclusion of the peace of Adrianople, and wrote a book on the Turco-Russian war, which is of great value to those engaged in military researches. He afterwards resided at Rome and other places, and rapidly acquired an extensive knowledge of the various languages of Europe. Napoleon I. would doubtless have regarded him as an idealogue; Wellington would have appreciated him better. When King William I. carried out the reorganization of the army, and thereby began the conflict with the Chamber, which insisted on a service of two years instead of three, Gen. von Moltke secretly sympathized with the Opposition, although as a soldier he could not openly express his opinions on the subject. Since the 3d of September, 1814, the three years' service has been sanctioned by law in Prussia. It was, however, on economical grounds, temporarily reduced one year by Frederick William III., with the proviso that the law should be reverted to as soon as the government should find it necessary to do so. In the campaign of 1848–9 the present King observed that the Landwehr regiments which had served only two years were not very effective, and hesitated to go into fire. This gave him the idea of increasing the service by another year, and the circumstance that the needle-gun had been introduced in 1847 strengthened his determination. It took nearly twenty years to make the use of this gun in the Prussian army general, for even in 1866 some of the Landwehr regiments, those, for instance, which fought at Langensalza, were armed with the old muzzle-loaders. It was considered that more time would be required to teach the soldier the use of the new gun than that of the old. Moreover, it was necessary that the discipline should be more strict and the connection between the officers and privates closer than formerly. The soldier was never to fire except by the order of his officer, and it was, besides, the duty of the latter to name the sight which was to be used according to the distance. It was for these reasons that the three years' service was revived, and the conduct of the Prussian troops in the last campaign certainly showed that the plan was effective. Gen Moltke, however, has so good an opinion of the intelligence of the North German recruits, that he believes a two years' service would produce equally good results.

It was immediately after the Gastein negotiations that Gen. von Moltke began to prepare the plan for a war with Austria. Its object was, as every one knows, twofold: first, to defend Silesia and Berlin; and second, to carry the war, if possible, into the enemy's territory. The consequence of this plan was the establishment of two separate armies in Silesia and Saxony, which, on assuming the offensive, were to advance each in its own direction until they met. While the armies were separated from each other they were in danger of being attacked and beaten in detail, a danger of which the Crown Prince—whose men had to go through the narrow Saxo-Sileasian passes, in some places so narrow that two men only could march abreast—was particularly exposed. The success of this plan obviously depended on a junction of the two armies, which seemed almost impossible, and was undoubtedly hazardous to the extreme. The result, however, justified the risk, although there can be no doubt that Benedek's mistakes greatly contributed to the Prussian success. Benedek wished to do the counterpart of what Frederick the Great had done in the second Silesian war—to catch the enemy in his mouse-trap, as Carlyle describes it. But this time the mouse was stronger than the trap.

Gen. von Moltke, adds the *Gazette*, is reported to be just now on a visit to Switzerland. He has taken up his quarters at Glyon, a mountain village, at a considerable elevation, in the Canton du Vaud, and at a short distance from the eastern extremity of Lake Leman; and is said to be accompanied by his staff, all dressed as civilians. Of course various conjectures are current as to the object of this visit. The General himself says he is seeking repose after his fatigues, but it is said that he and his staff are studying all the passes of the Jura chain from Switzerland into France, and that he has been trying to take photographic views of some Swiss fortifications, only the local authorities preventing him. It is added significantly, that the Prussians have already made themselves perfectly acquainted with the country between Switzerland and the Rhine.

WOMAN.

[The following lines were sent by Oliver Wendell Holmes, in response to an invitation to be present at the dinner in celebration of the twenty-first anniversary of the Mercantile Library Association of New York, on the 9th of November, 1841, where all wines and liquors were excluded, and ladies were invited as guests at the table. At the dinner recently given at Delmonico's—9th of November, 1866—by the Officers' Union of the Mercantile Library Association, these lines were reproduced as part of the history of that event, and are now first given to the public:]

A health to dear Woman! she bids us entwine
From the cup it encircles the fast-clinging vine;
But her cheek o'er its crystal with pleasure will glow,
And mirror its bloom in the bright wave below.

A health to sweet Woman! the days are no more
When she watched for her lord till the revel was o'er;
And smoothed the white pillow, and blushed when he
  came,
As she pressed her cold lips on his forehead of flame.

Alas for the loved one! too spotless and fair,
The joys of his banquet to chasten and share;
Her eye lost its light that his goblet might shine,
And the rose of her cheek was dissolved in his wine.

Joy smiles in the fountain, health flows in the rills,
As their ribbons of silver unwind from the hills;
They breathe not the mist of the bacchanal's dream,
But the lilies of innocence float on their stream.

Then a health and a welcome to Woman once more!
She brings us a passport that laughs at our door;
It is written on crimson, its letters are pearls,
It is countersigned Nature—so room for the girls.
—*National Temperance Advocate.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS ON "DANIEL O'CONNELL."

He could by no possibility weave a fitting crown for the brow of Ireland's greatest of orators and statesmen, and could only, at the best, lay a wreath upon the altar of his memory. He then pointed out the more prominent features of his character, and measured in some slight degree the work accomplished by O'Connell in the nineteenth century, work performed for his countrymen and the world, and to which he devoted his whole life, the success of which stamps him as the most remarkable man of the three islands. He then painted a sketch of the life of the great agitator, and pointed out the strong points in his character that always secured for him success in his various attacks upon the throne and the Parliament of England. He gave himself, his fortune and his all, to the cause of his distressed and down-trodden country.

In the history of the ages no similar instance of disinterested devotion has ever been exhibited. The cause of Ireland looked almost hopeless—even the Catholics themselves were divided—many sought to ally themselves with the inactive Catholic element of England,—while others put themselves behind the leadership of O'Connell and trusted in his genius for success. The O'Connell party were truly justified in believing that they were not competent to cope with the malignant power of London. England had shut every door in the face of the Irishman, and made every word he might speak in his own behalf a penal offence—chains were bound about their necks; scattered over a large territory, with no organization, no press, no agriculture, no means of defence. Over this dark and hopeless field the genius of the young liberator was breathed, and calmly did he contemplate his future work. Plainly did he see his own future written in the proscription of every Irishman who had ever dared to attempt anything for the freedom of Ireland. To face such a government required at least a General at the head of a powerful army, or a man with an almost impossible combination of virtues—a social ambition—the genius of an agitator, who could meet the forces of contending factions—a frame that no labor could tire, and an industry and enthusiasm that no disinterestedness could chill.

It is not too much to say of Daniel O'Connell that he brought to the service of his country every one of these great requisitions. A consummate orator, of commanding social position, had he chosen to serve the Saxon he might have done so regardless of a Wellington. But O'Connell stood for Ireland. In the beginning of the nineteenth century he held it to be impossible for an Englishman to speak the truth of Ireland, and he was right. In the face of such obstacles O'Connell commenced his agitation—a graphic description of which, in its various stages, was given by the speaker, in the course of which he instituted a beautiful comparison between the minds and labors of Samuel Adams and Daniel O'Connell, claiming that both men devoted their lives to the accomplishment of the same work—the destruction of tyranny. What Bright is aiming to accomplish to-day, O'Connell did sixty years ago—created an agitation, the first hour of which is thought, but the second is force. In the midst of his labors O'Connell stood up and drove the whole British empire through the meshes of the English statutes. No law could they enact that he would not pass safely through it.

Here Mr. Phillips reviewed at some length the various oppressive enactments of England, giving the condensation of a series of acts intended to prevent the Irish people from operating together. Yet for all this O'Connell assembled them by millions. For forty long years England covered all around with her laws, yet O'Connell never allowed himself or any of his associates to be found guilty of their violation. With no press, no money, no public, unable to move a step without subjecting himself to arrest, yet all the legal acumen of the empire could not stay the progress of his agitation. He literally created Ireland the political Ireland which made to tremble the British crown. The much-loved Emmet, with his matchless eloquence, engaged in the same work, fell in his first efforts. The Grattans did one work and then faltered, but O'Connell never failed, and up to 1829, when he accomplished Catholic Emancipation, no such man had appeared upon the three islands.

Mr. Phillips made a scathing review of the characters of George III. and George IV., saying, among other things, that the latter George possessed no conscience, yet he tried to palm off on to his subjects the semblance of one, which always gave him the nightmare. O'Connell created for the nineteenth century *Agitation*,—the force that ridicules bayonets and cannons. He laid down as the corner-stone of his life that that cannot be politically right which is morally wrong. With these premises he undertook to coerce the British throne, and he did it. What an army could not do, he, with his simple voice, attempted and did. In the work he did and the machinery with which he did it there is no page in history like it. No matter where the English government planted itself, his genius outran it. His philanthropy was like the ocean, boundless; and no matter under what law a man's rights were stricken down, he might count on the great Irishman as his champion.

In closing his address, Mr. Phillips gave a most graphic description of the *personnel* of the great orator and the brilliant effects of his unequalled oratorical powers upon all who heard him, and said that if the green flag ever waves over a liberated Ireland it will be done by men who follow in the avenues of reform marked out by Daniel O'Connell.

OUR ARTISTS IN ITALY.

"Carleton," the correspodent of the Boston *Journal*, has been visiting the studios of the American artists in Rome, and sends home some interesting notes. Mr. Story has just begun a statue of Medea meditating the destruction of her children. Miss Foley has in her studio medallions of Mr. Sumner and of Prof. Longfellow. Mr. Randolph Rogers is executing commissions for copies of his Nydia, Isaac, and others of his works. His figure of Ruth Gleaning stands in his studio. Mr. Hazeltine, of Philadelphia, is executing a statue for the Union League of that city, entitled America Honoring the Fallen Brave—a queenly figure holding wreaths of immortelles and laurels. Two oddly contrasted companion-pieces by this artist represent, one a heathen woman sacrificing her child, and the other a Christian mother bringing hers to the baptismal font, in obedience to their religion.

Miss Stebbins as well as Miss Freeman has illustrated in marble Longfellow's poem of Sandalphon, and among the other works in her studio are a figure of Autumn, personified by a child loaded with grapes, and a more ambitious statue of Columbus, who is represented standing at the helm of his vessel on the eve of his discovery of America. Miss Hosmer has designed a fountain for an English lady, and is executing two groups which she purposes to send to the Paris exhibition. These are entitled the Sleeping Fawn, and the Waking Fawn. In one a fairy binds the sleeper to a tree; in the other he is punished for his mischief. Miss Edmonia Lewis occupies Canova's old studio, and is executing in marble her two groups from Hiawatha—Nokomis and the Marriage of Minnehaha. She has also completed a bust of a deceased daughter of Rev. Mr. Waterston. Mr. Ives is engaged on a statue, to be finished in Bronze, of the late Bishop Browning of Hartford, and superintending the making of copies of his Rebecca at the Well. Mr. Rinehart has a new figure in clay of a child with a pet lamb, entitled Innocence.

Less is said of the painters. Mr. Tilton is busy with Italian landscapes. Mr. Freeman is engaged on a large picture representing the scene on the morning of the resurrection of the Saviour, with the three Marys at the tomb, the angels and the fleeing soldiers, and Mount Calvary with its three crosses, and Jerusalem in the background. Mr. Ropes is occupied with landscapes, among which a view of Tivoli, taken from the site of the house of Horace, is prominent.

Larkin G. Mead, Jr., has returned to Florence, and is busy, having six or eight men at work in his studio. Among his more recent idealities in marble are America and the Muse of History. The last figure is that of a maiden walking over a half globe, with a wreath upon her head, one bright star above her forehead, and an open book and pen at her feet. Upon the page of the book is written simply the word—Lincoln.

CARD.

ARTIFICIAL FEET AND LEGS,

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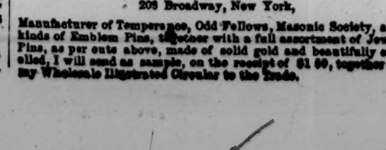
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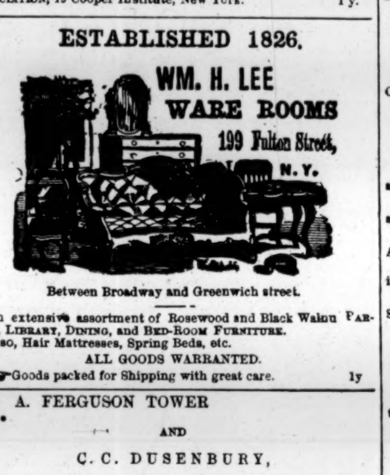
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